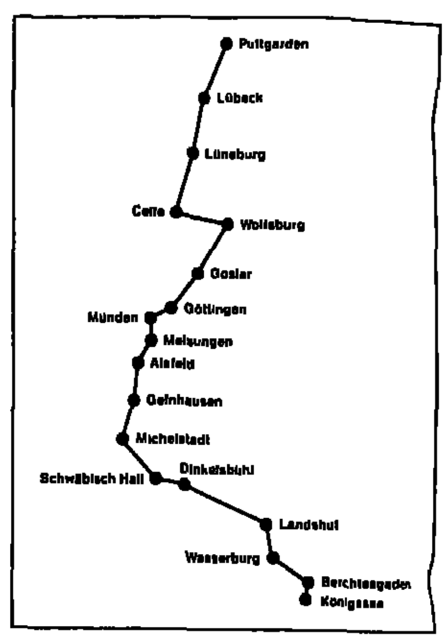
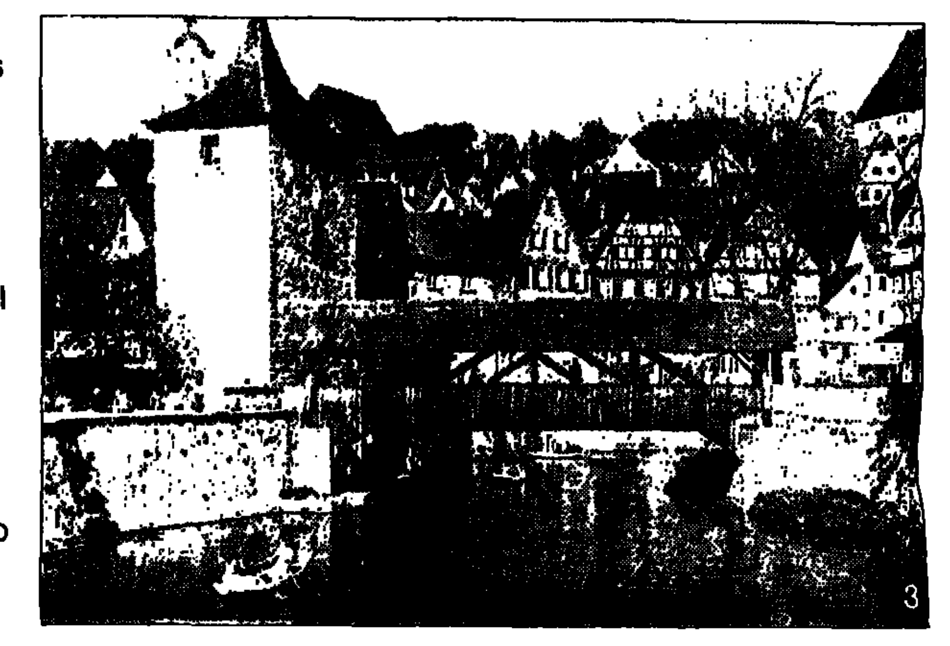
Routes to tour in Germany

The German Holiday Route – from the Alps to the Baltic



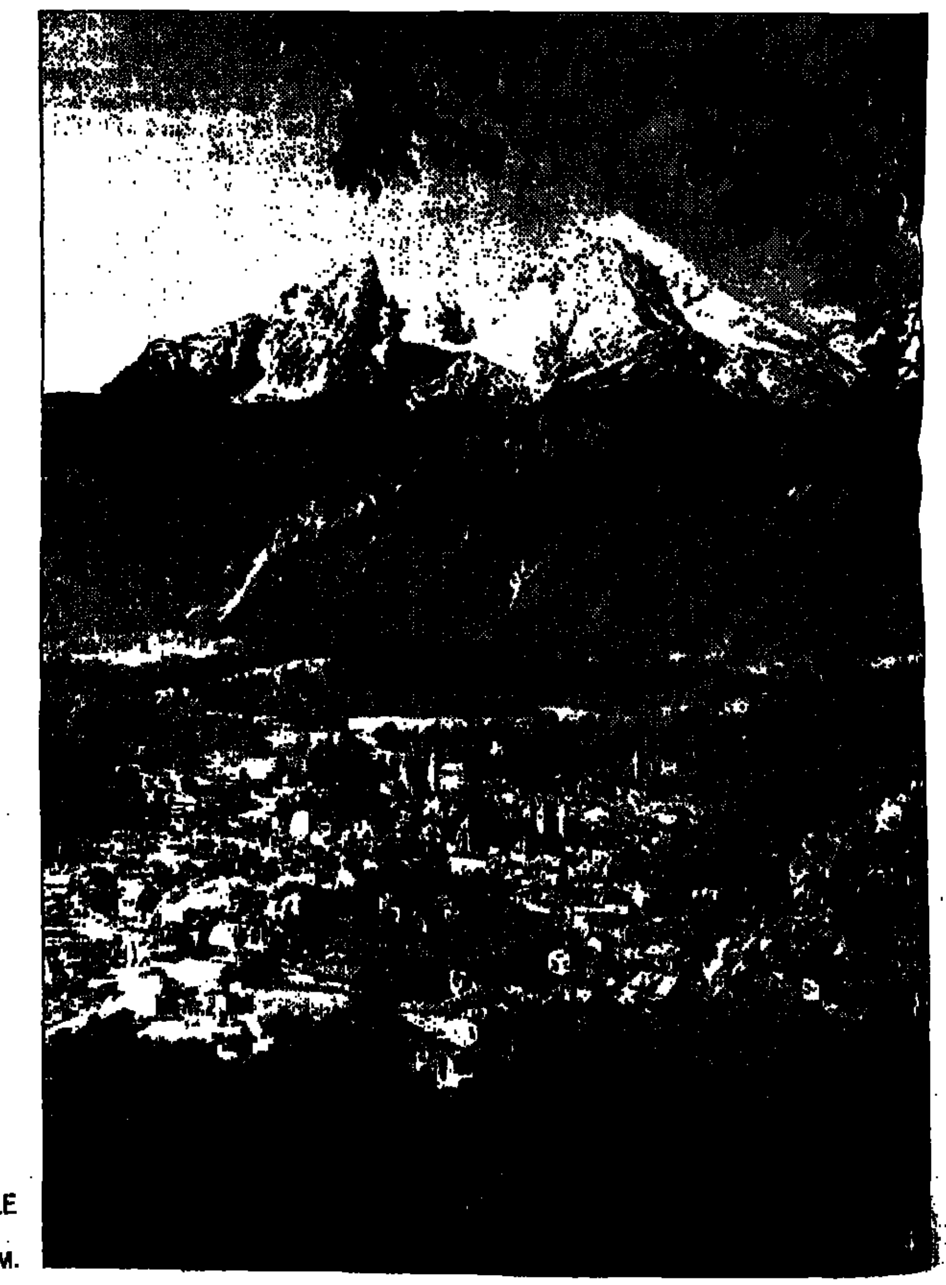




German roads will get you there, and if you plan to see as much as you can, why not travel the length of the country? From the Alpine foothills in the south via the typical Mittelgebirge range to the plains of the north, you will pass through the most varied landscapes. And so you needn't take pot luck in deciding on a route, we recommend the German Holiday Route from the Alps to the Baltic.

Start in the south with Berchtesgaden and its bob run. Maybe you have already heard tell of Landshut, a mediaeval Bavarian town with the world's largest brick-and-mortar tower. Or of Erbach in the Odenwald, with its castle and the Ivory Museum. Or of Alsfeld with its half-timbered houses, the Harz mountain towns or the 1,000-year-old-Hanseatic port of Lübeck.

Visit Germany and let the Holiday Route be your guide – from the Alps to the Baltic.



1 Lübeck
2 Melsungen
3 Schwäbisch Hall
4 Berchtesgaden



DZT DEUTSCHE ZENTRALE FÜR TOURISMUS E.V.
Beethovenstrasse 69, D-6000 Frankfurt/M.



The German Tribune

Hamburg, 3 July 1988
Twenty-seventh year - No. 1329 - By air

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

C 20725 C
ISSN 0016-8858
DEPOSE A BRX X

New mood of expectation as European leaders meet

Hannoversche Allgemeine

For years, many have thought of the European Community in terms of bitter disputes and growing problems, especially those caused by surplus farm production.

For the public, the Community has steadily lost the glamour that surrounded it in its first decade.

Many have forgotten the extent to which it was responsible for eliminating frontiers in Europe and promoting a sense of community. The summit in Hanover is a good chance to look at the achievements of the EC and taking another look at what condition it really is in.

In reality the Community has developed *even in the course of its disputes*, as is most readily apparent from the growing need felt by non-members to improve their relations with it.

The Soviet leaders, for instance, have now abandoned doubts and have paved *the way for establishing formal relations* between the European Community and its East Bloc counterpart, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon).

Austria, which for 30 years felt obliged by its neutrality not to join the Community, is now planning to apply for membership.

Norway is preparing to renew its application, withdrawn years ago when a referendum rejected the idea.

This list could be extended, which wouldn't have been the case if everyone else saw the European Community in the same terms as many people in member-countries do: as a half-bankrupt venture that laboriously papers over its differences from one conference to the next.

In reality all neighbouring states are working on the assumption that the Community will succeed in the years ahead in setting up a single internal market.

Whether it does so as planned and announced, by the end of 1992, is not the crucial factor. A start has certainly been made, and some *time in the 1990s* a single European market of 320 million consumers will come into being.

In numbers and economic potential it will outstrip even the United States.

Difficult though the process may prove in detail, progress is being made. European Community Finance Ministers have agreed on derestricting capital transfers. Education Ministers have agreed on reciprocal recognition of university degrees.

Those who envisage a "United States of Europe" may find this too little. Those who still dream of a united Europe are bound to feel dissatisfied with the reality, which consists of progress solely by dribs and drabs and of unsatisfactory compromises.

But nation-states are hardly perennials and all governments must bear their citizens interests in mind or risk defeat at the polls. That is why the process is so arduous and protracted; it was bound to be.

No major decisions were due in Hanover. All things considered, that was neither a mistake nor a disadvantage.

Between January and June, with Germany in the chair, the various Councils of Ministers have done sound work.

Hanover was a Euro-summit at which, for once, the heads of state and government did not have to solve problems with which the Council of Ministers failed to cope.

That presented the Twelve with an op*portunity of discussing the more distant* future and longer-term objectives.

They included a European monetary union and the establishment of a European central bank, both of which are projects of gigantic proportions beset by almost insuperable problems.

Chancellor Kohl, backed by M Delors, president of the European Commission, made two *proposals:*

- to set up a commission to look into the problem and draw up a schedule for further activity, including resolutions that might, for instance, be adopted some time next year;
- and to aim at establishing a common social structure while work is in progress on the common internal market.

This second objective envisaged by Chancellor Kohl as summit host in Hanover is the more ambitious. The way was paved by a demonstrative pre-summit meeting with Ernst Breit, general secretary of the DGB, Germany's Düsseldorf-*based trades union confederation*, and chairman of the confederation of European trade unions.



Here we are in Hanover. From left, British Prime Minister Thatcher and Foreign Minister Howe; Bonn Chancellor Kohl and Foreign Minister Genscher; and French President Mitterrand. (Photo: dpa)

The aim is not just to harmonise national regulations in sectors such as labour protection but to approximate company law. Most member-countries lack German-style industrial democracy ("co-determination") provisions.

The Hanover summit could well give the process a powerful boost even though headline-hitting decisions were not reached.

Rotation of chairmanship, petty and impractical though it may seem, has its advantages. The government in the chair over a given six-month period generally feels bound to achieve something new.

The lack of highlights at the Hanover summit was in no way detrimental to the Community. It probably did it a power of good for the heads of state and government for once to feel free from pressure to reach decisions come what may.

One can but hope that the opportunity *presented is put to good use.*

Wolfgang Wagner

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 25 June 1988)

IN THIS ISSUE

PERSPECTIVE Page 4
The ambivalence of a united Allied presence in a divided Germany

FLASHBACK Page 6
Currency reform in 1948: how the mark turned post-war gloom into boom

THE ENVIRONMENT Page 13
Experts say plutonium lethal at any level; slams methods of setting 'safe limits'

FRONTIERS Page 14
On the road with a copy of the tramp's own paper

Comecon-EC deal reveals a change in Soviet attitude

The European Community and its East Bloc equivalent, Comecon, have signed a **declaration of "mutual recognition" which amounts to a formal acknowledgment of each other. The volume of trade between the two blocs is not great in relation to their size. Last year, the EC exported about 55 billion marks worth of goods to Comecon and trade in the other direction was worth about 42 billion marks.**

The joint declaration by the European Community and the Council for Mutual Economic Cooperation (Comecon) on future cooperation marks a more far-reaching turning point than the somewhat dry document might suggest.

Above all it changes Comecon, which was set up by the Soviet Union as a means of domination and exploitation.

Moscow's Comecon partners have stubbornly maintained significant vestiges of national independence, especially in the economic sector.

Under Mr Gorbachov Comecon's days of setting the lead are over. No other interpretation can be made of its overtures to the European Community.

Direct trade ties between the two are ruled out by their different structures. So the declaration merely lays down a framework for bilateral agreements between the Community and individual Comecon countries, some of which are already under negotiation.

Yet it is a means of setting fundamental trends and of opening up new avenues for and instruments of cooperation that might be crucial for the success of East Bloc reforms.

It might bridge the wide gap that separates Eastern and Western Europe economically and technologically — not only for goods and know-how but also for free-market ideas and recipes for success.

There is no point in discussing "aid" *for the Soviet Union, which can only* solve its problems by itself.

But in a difficult transitional situation Moscow would be overtaxed if it had to stand surety for its partners' economic stability, which is of such enormous importance for Europe as a whole.

The Soviet Union's partners in Europe are unable to solve their problems alone and would like Western help.

Yet not even the West can relieve the Comecon countries of the task of reorganising the Eastern European market and developing forms of integration of their own that enable them to undertake a sensible division of labour.

But cooperation between the EC and Comecon could result in bright ideas here.

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 25 June 1988)

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Wanted: bright ideas for foreign policy

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

Chancellor Kohl complained at the CDU party conference that, although Germans were travelling more and more around the world, they were showing steadily less interest in international affairs.

If the Chancellor thinks this is a sign of foreign-policy provincialism, then to what extent is Bonn an international metropolis where a distinctive foreign policy is pursued?

Bonn is known in East and West for firmly staying on course and for patiently seeking detente; it is not a byword for inspiration or vision in the swiftly changing context of world affairs.

The Federal government is adept at claiming its share in East-West change and in urging the superpowers to make headway on disarmament. It is far less fruitful as the nucleus of initiatives of its own on a new international order.

In East-West terms the last major contribution Bonn made was the endorsement of the December 1979 Nato dual-track decision (on missile deployment and disarmament talks) by Chancellor Schmidt and Foreign Minister Genscher.

A single German concept, Ostpolitik, initiated by Willy Brandt and Walter Scheel, had previously found its way into the vocabulary of international affairs.

Another arguably German concept, associated with a German name in much the same way as the Rapacki Plan was associated with the name of the Polish Foreign Minister, is the Hallstein Doctrine, a long outmoded veteran of the post-war period.

Bright ideas from Bonn, not to mention grand designs for the millennium ahead, would be most welcome right now. After the effort and expense of the superpower summit in Moscow we face the prospect of a major lull.

The second "year of disarmament" proclaimed by Herr Genscher is starting to mark time as Washington and Moscow show signs of uncertainty.

After their initial success in scrapping medium-range missiles there is no sign of real progress in any other disarmament sector.

Herr Kohl and Herr Genscher may sound a note of urgency but they too have nothing but the old formulas to offer: an overall Western concept and residual nuclear security, the tenets of East-West cooperation.

In Bonn all parties to the government have set up a sound barrier, partly for domestic political reasons, that takes the edge off any moves toward progress in disarmament.

Thinking about any further zero solutions for Europe, the world's most highly-armed continent, is regarded as taboo.

The corridors of power in Bonn — officials at the Chancellor's Office, the Foreign Office and, in particular, the Defence Ministry — cannot be accused of twiddling their thumbs.

Arms control projects are fleshed out in Bonn, as in other capitals, with proposals (on verification of a ban on chemical weapons) and figures (on conventional disarmament).

Herr Kohl and Herr Genscher have put in hard work reminding their fellow-members of Nato that its overall security and disarmament concept has yet to be drawn up.

But the outcome of their work has, for the most part, been to further postpone expectations of results.

Herr Genscher, in his constant quest for allies at home and abroad, has lately hit on the idea, together with his French opposite number, M. Dumas, of including disarmament on the agenda of Franco-German cooperation.

Yet both well know that France's nuclear weapons mark out limits to the extent to which they can join forces in this respect.

There is a more pressing need for German proposals that do not need to be coordinated and discussed down to the smallest detail with one partner or another. What is needed are ideas that extend not just from one Nato gathering to the next but outline as specifically as possible what the shape of things to come in Europe ought best to be like.

Instead, grand designs are all the rage. No government policy statement or party-political programme manages without a mention of the "all-European peace order."

But no-one says what shape it is to take, what is to happen to the pacts and what quantity and kind of weapons peaceful neighbours with open borders need to maintain security.

How are we to set about conventional arms control without ideas on such issues and what on earth is meant by a cooperative majority?

How is the Foreign Minister to spell out what he has in mind so that the new Defence Minister, who is frankly sceptical about the reform capability of Soviet military thinking, will bear with him?

Steps forward

At times one has a presentiment of the direction events might take in Europe, such as when the Bonn Foreign Minister builds bridges at an international conference in Potsdam or the Chancellor's staff glean practical ideas on how to fit the meetings between Herr Kohl and Mr Gorbachov into a promising context.

These are both graphic instances of a policy of small steps forward.

But progress within the framework of what can clearly be seen does not rule out taking an early sight on the wider course.

No-one may be able to tell how far Mr Gorbachov's reform potential will extend or what the next US President has in mind for Europe, but that is no reason for Bonn to go slow on foreign policy concepts.

Indeed, a Bonn government in relative mid-term safety ought to feel itself challenged to bridge this gap in the Western alliance.

There is no need for political adventures or risky experiments in going it alone. All that is needed is more courage to engage in flights of political fantasy.

It is not a matter of going off the rails but of drafting convincing designs. What we need are an overall disarmament concept and ideas on how arms reduction, essential security and wide-ranging cooperation all over Europe can be permanently interlocked.

Thomas Meyer

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 23 June 1988)

Canada and Europe win points at the Toronto Summit

The seven heads of state and government of the leading Western industrialised countries made the Toronto summit a festival of peace and harmony.

Everyone was pleasant to everyone else, especially to President Reagan, whose last Western economic summit it was.

For that reason alone European and Japanese criticism of the continued basic current of protectionism in the United States was subdued. Another was the largely satisfactory state of the economy in all seven countries, which kept cares at bay.

Not even the risk of higher interest rates, the problem of agricultural subsidies and the continued imbalance in trade ties between America, Europe and Japan seriously upset the hermetically sealed-off summit.

So is it surprising that both actors and audience were again delighted with the summit circus? Few dared to suggest that the goodwill of Toronto was merely a snapshot of the varying interplay of the affluent branch of the family of nations that papered over their conflicts of interest.

True, the poorest countries of Africa are to have some of their debts waived. That makes sound sense, legalising the fact of the case, which is that they couldn't repay them anyway.

No-one will want to object to the customary economic summit wording of the final communiqué, but good intentions alone are not good politics.

Last year's Venice summit was barely over when US Treasury Secretary James Baker hit out at the Germans and Japanese, confusing the markets and contributing toward Black Monday, the October 1987 stock market crash. How long will this year's pledges last?

Yet international economic summits are not superfluous. Even though they seldom succeed in coordinating economic and monetary policy and the commitments that used to be made were either abandoned or, for the most part, had serious repercussions, the summit round occasionally testifies to gravitational field realignments between America, Europe and Japan.

Two points in particular made the Toronto summit interesting: Canada and the European Community flexed their muscles and are being taken increasingly seriously.

Canadian Premier Brian Mulroney as the host made astute use of the opportunity to present Canada to the rest of the world as an economic power of a size and with a dynamism about which the Europeans and the Japanese know little.

Canada, as the second-largest country in the world (the Soviet Union is the largest), is keen to play its part between the neighbouring United States and the Europeans with whom it has much in common.

Canada is part of North America, and the proposed free trade agreement with the United States will strengthen these ties. But the Canadians are keen to retain their identity.

Many are worried they may become even more of an economic and cultural appendage of the United States. So Mr Mulroney is most interested in forging closer links with the European Community and in encouraging German investors to take a closer look at Canada.

His government is anxious to dispel European and Japanese fears that the free trade zone with the United States may prove a "fortress."

Conversely, Europeans assure both Canada and the United States that the greater European internal market will remain open for trade with other countries.

The doubts that remain are due to Washington's inclination to conclude free trade agreements with other countries, such as Japan. This policy could lead to the creation of blocs; for the Europeans it remains unpredictable.

Much like the Canadians, the Europeans are gaining a clearer identity in the concert of the great powers. European Community decisions to reform budget, agricultural and structural policy and to set up a single internal market by 1992 have triggered US and Japanese interest.

Chancellor Kohl, President Mitterrand and the European Commission's Jacques Delors were bombarded with questions about the internal market at Toronto.

How times change! A few years ago the Americans and Japanese merely smiled at the perenially strife-ridden European Community; today they are almost afraid of it.

With its 320 million consumers the European market will be the largest in the free world, larger than the United States and Canada combined and larger than Japan.

For M. Delors, who a few years ago was reluctantly tolerated at the summit, Toronto was a success. The European Community was taken seriously for once.

The Japanese again smiled most suggestively in Toronto when, for once, mention was made of their failure to open their home market to imports.

The gala dinner hosted by Mr Mulroney ruled out them being put in the dock, as is otherwise the case.

Americans and Europeans at least welcomed the fact that Japan is currently a factor for growth and that its trading surpluses are slowly on the decline.

Japan is clearly intent on playing the international economic game more fairly and squarely. There can be no mistaking its good intentions.

So in the end everyone was satisfied and the critics were silenced by so much agreement. The seven Western leaders have nothing but good in mind.

Even more importantly for the markets, they did not make the wrong noises. In politics today that is the key to virtually total success.

Peter Hort

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 22 June 1988)

The German Tribune

Friedrich Reinecke Verlag GmbH, 3-4 Hartwicusstrasse, D-2000 Hamburg 76, Tel.: 22 85 1, Telex: 02-14733.

Editor-in-chief: Otto Heinz. Editor: Alexander Anthony. English language sub-editor: Simon Burnett. — Distribution manager: Georgine Picone.

Published weekly with the exception of the second week in January, the second week in April, the third week in September and the third week in November.

Advertising rates list No. 16
Annual subscription DM 45

Printed by CW Niemeyer-Druck, Hameln

Distributed in the USA by: MASS MAILINGS, Inc., 540 West 24th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011.
Postmaster: send change of address to The German Tribune % MASS MAILINGS.

Articles in THE GERMAN TRIBUNE are translated from the original text and published by agreement with leading newspapers in the Federal Republic of Germany.

In all correspondence, please quote your subscription number which appears on the wrapper, between asterisks, above your address.

■ HOME AFFAIRS

Tax-reform package gets rough passage before Bundestag approves it

The government's 1990 tax-reform bill which has been passed by the Bundestag proposes reductions in income tax of 37.2 billion marks. The Treasury would gain an extra 18.1 billion marks from a new with-holding tax on capital and from a reduction in tax exemptions. The bill still has to be approved by the Bundesrat, the upper house.

The government's controversial 1990 tax reform bill has been passed by the Bundestag. But only just.

The final vote on the tax package, planned to provide a net tax relief figure of DM19m, was delayed because of roll-call voting on specific provisions.

The vote on a particularly disputed aspect, tax exemption on aviation fuel for amateur pilots, was a real cliff-hanger.

Several CDU and FDP members opposed the exemption and, in the end, it scraped through by eight votes (the CDU, CSU, FDP coalition has a majority of 41).

Bonn Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg described the reform as "a great achievement."

Of the 489 votes cast on the aviation-fuel issue, 240 were in favour and 232 against. There were 17 abstentions.

The seven-hour debate, which was marked by irreconcilable differences of opinion on the social fairness and economic conceqeuences of the government's proposals, was followed by several hours of roll-call voting on individual aspects in a second reading of the fill and a roll-call final vote in a third reading.

The debate focused strongly on the aviation fuel aspect, even though Finance Minister Stoltenberg and other government coalition spokesmen had described this issue as a peripheral problem.

They pointed out that amateur pilots and small and medium-sized firms account for only four per cent of aviation fuel consumption.

They insisted that the competitive disadvantages for smaller businesses must be eliminated.

The government coalition took into account the criticism expressed within its own ranks by adopting a resolution calling upon the Bonn government to do more to achieve greater European harmonisation in this field and a fairer system of aviation fuel taxation.

The SPD and the Greens decried the government's action as a scandal.

Hans Apel (SPD) said that while giving the amateur pilots a tax gift of roughly DM2,500 a year each, the government was digging deep into the pockets of German motorists. He described this as unacceptable.

He called the tax reform a folly full of injustices. Criticism by the Greens ran along very much the same lines.

Finance Minister Stoltenberg self-critically admitted that the tax reform discussion had been exaggeratedly overshadowed by the dispute about the interests of certain lobbies.

This, he said, made people forget that the reform of the tax rate system alone would save taxpayers DM33.8bn in the three-stage tax relief package between 1986 and 1990. He claimed that 70 per cent of the working population would benefit from the reform package.

Stoltenberg stressed that the top tax rate in the Federal Republic of Germany is still much higher than in many other countries.

In Austria, for example, the tax rate ceiling was reduced from 62 to 50 per cent.

Heinz-Joachim Melder

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 24 June 1988)

Tax reform 1990

Less — Income tax: 37.2

More — With-holding tax; revenue through lower exemptions: 18.1

Figures in billions of marks

Total relief: 19.1

INDEX FUNK 3114

A bill mauled by an array of compromises

The chairman of the CDU/CSU parliamentary group, Alfred Dregger, referred to the uneasy feeling following the adoption of the tax-reform bill.

He wasn't talking only about the controversial provision exempting amateur pilots from paying tax on aviation fuel. He was talking about the entire reform.

The reform encompasses unparalleled tax relief; but it stops short of being the "achievement of the century" as the coalition likes to claim.

It has been disfigured by too many changes, modifications, inconsistencies and compromises to be that.

But Stoltenberg can be proud of the

Continued on page 15

More problems looming in upper house

The tax reform package will not be home and dried until it is approved by the upper house, the Bundesrat.

The narrow majority in the Bundestag strengthens the hand of those Christian Democrats in the Bundesrat (which comprises members of the *Länder*) who want concession from Bonn in return for support on this issue.

Lower Saxon Premier Ernst Albrecht (CDU) wants more money for Germany's "poorer" northern regions.

Although his party colleagues in Bonn are angry, Albrecht has stood his ground.

Many in the coalition are also angry at the way Franz Josef Strauss brought his influence to bear in support of exemption on aviation fuel for amateur pilots.

Even his CSU colleagues only reluctantly supported their leader. Some could only choke back their anger. But again, solidarity in the CSU prevailed.

The Bundesrat may turn out to be the place for compromise. Albrecht may eventually back down from his demands. Or does he want his name to be associated with an SPD-backed failure of the tax reform?

And what about Strauss? He may also back down from his stubborn insistence on tax exemption for aviation fuel.

Finance Minister Stoltenberg did a good job in presenting the tax reform package associated with his name in the Bundestag.

He cleverly took the sting out of arguments against the government's plans.

Can the initially popular but now unpopular tax reform again be made popular? Perhaps when the man in the street really notices that the government is giving him more than it did before.

This could improve the government's image and leave the SPD (which criticised the tax reform as "deception") in a difficult situation.

The SPD should be more careful in its choice of words. Alfred Dregger reminded the Social Democrats that they increased value added tax, mineral oil tax and tobacco tax three times when they were in power.

The public has forgotten this. The government in Bonn hopes that it may also benefit from this kind of forgetfulness when the next general election is held in 1990.

Manfred Schell

(Die Welt, Bonn, 24 June 1988)

Strauss and the row over aviation fuel

Franz Josef Strauss's insistence on pushing through the unpopular tax exemption for amateur pilots (he is himself one) is aimed at strengthening his own power base and weakening that of the Chancellor, Helmut Kohl.

A power-minded person such as Strauss, the CSU boss, does not plunge the Bonn coalition into a crisis simply for the sake of giving a few thousand fellow amateur pilots a tax gift.

He wants to maintain his dominant influence, both in Bavaria and in Bonn.

He can only do this if he wins elections at three levels in Bavaria in 1990: local government, state assembly and national.

He would have to be politically blind not to realise that the Bonn government's policies are hurting his position. This is the only conclusion which can be drawn from the most recent elections.

The conservative union has lost support throughout the country. It suffered a particularly crushing defeat during the last election, the state election in Schleswig-Holstein, although this was strongly influenced by the Barschel affair.

Strauss blames the situation on political mismanagement in Bonn. He has never thought much of the Chancellor Kohl's qualities of leadership.

Yet Strauss deliberately fails to mention the fact that he played a decisive role in all the coalition's major decisions, for example, in the field of the now unpopular tax reforms and the reform of the health system.

The repercussions will also be felt in the 1990 general election year.

Strauss is trying to remove the risks by creating a scapegoat, which he can send into the wilderness whenever he sees fit. A bitter power struggle has developed between him and Kohl.

Strauss stubbornly insisted on the tax subisidies for amateur pilots, which Kohl must have promised him some time in the past, knowing that this is bound to weaken Kohl's credibility in his own party and among voters.

The insistance forced Kohl to exercise his full authority to persuade his parliamentary party to approve it.

The result is mass protest by the party's rank and file and the voters.

Many CDU members of parliament will now have to fight for their re-election, in some cases for the basis of their livelihood.

This means that some CDU politicians stand to suffer from Kohl's action.

The next time the Chancellor comes up with some unpalatable proposal they may not turn out to be so loyal.

The CDU/CSU parliamentary party is gradually slipping out of Kohl's grasp.

The CSU was willing to jeopardise the coalition for the sake of giving a tax break to such a tiny group of voters.

It cannot be ruled out that it will readily find another excuse to exercise its veto.

The Albrecht initiative or the health reform plans may give them an opportunity. The Chancellor is being pushed to the edge of a precipice.

Of course, Helmut Kohl is at his best when he has his back to the wall. He then switches to a strategy of forward defence.

One way in which Kohl could lead the coalition out of its most serious crisis during this legislative period is to reshuffle his cabinet.

In order to regain respect and confidence he should concentrate on politicians in the CDU/CSU parliamentary group. One dilemma is that a new start also requires the approval of all coalition partners.

It looks as if Strauss is more interested in ousting Kohl than weakening the CDU. Neither the CSU nor the FDP can be interested in the CDU's downfall.

In all probability, the Chancellor will adopt a wait-and-see stance. This has worked so well and so often in the past.

However, even if the tax reform bill is only delayed in the Bundesrat Kohl would lose face.

The "silly season" which takes place during the Bundestag's summer recess might then even turn sour for the Chancellor.

Helmut Kohl no longer sits that firmly in the saddle of his parliamentary party. The roll-call vote on the aviation fuel issue proved this.

Despite the fact that the coalition has a comfortable majority just a few more no-votes would have thrown out its tax reform bill.

This was a serious warning in Kohl's direction.

Bernd Knebel

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 24 June 1988)

■ PERSPECTIVE

The ambivalence of a united Allied presence in a divided Germany



Germany is a place that either divides the world or unites it, said French Foreign Minister Georges Bidault in 1946. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the ambivalence of Allied responsibility for Germany.

It keeps a country in the heart of continental Europe together while, at the same time, having divided it.

It is the legacy of two eras, one starting with the German invasion of Russia in June 1941 and ending with Stalin's 1948-49 blockade of Berlin, the other starting in 1944-45, involving the Cold War and a divided world that has lasted to this day.

When Truman, Stalin and Churchill arrived at their decisions in Potsdam in 1945 they fleshed out lines drawn on the map of Europe in London 10 months earlier, on 12 September 1944.

Germany in its 1937 borders, before the Nazi conquests, was to be divided into zones of military occupation.

In Yalta, in February 1945, no changes were made, although the West registered a protest, warned by the bitter fate of Poland as liberated by the Red Army.

So the division of Europe into spheres of interest was accompanied by a catalogue of well-intentioned democratic wishes, the "declaration on liberated Europe," to which Stalin consented, while stating that the Red Army was there to stay, and with it Soviet power.

"The anti-Hitler coalition began to disintegrate (during) the Warsaw uprising"

De Gaulle's France, which was represented neither in London in 1944 nor at Yalta in 1945, was a party to the 5 June 1945 declaration by which, after the capitulation of the Wehrmacht and the imprisonment of the last Reich government, the Allies assumed supreme power over all that had formerly been the German Reich.

In 1945 it was in the process of being split up. East of the Oder-Neisse line the Russians and Poles set to work with fire and the sword.

In the centre the Red Army stayed put, organised as the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany, by which it is known to this day.

In the West the British and Americans moved closer together to make room for a French zone of occupation and a French sector in Berlin.

The ambivalence of this beginning was never resolved. Was power over Germany the peg that was to hold the Allies together after the death of the man who gave his name to the anti-Hitler coalition? Or was the German succession to be the cause of the next war?

Whatever else Allied war conferences had discussed since 1942 they deliberately postponed a decision on sharing the spoils to avoid a premature breakdown of their coalition.

All that remained was the vision of One World as reflected in the enemy-state clause of the UN Charter, in Four-Power control of Berlin and in joint Allied responsibility for what, at Potsdam, was termed "Germany as a whole."

Yet the German administrative authorities agreed at Potsdam never were set up in Berlin.

The Allies were split over reparations, not to mention Sovietisation of the East and let alone the Soviet claim to the Ruhr and the American veto.

Allied responsibility for Germany has since implied both a condominium over the heart of Europe and a clash between those who claim the right to determine what shape it will take.

The anti-Hitler coalition began to disintegrate in connection with the 1944 Warsaw uprising. It continued in Yalta and Potsdam.

The March 1947 Moscow conference of Allied Foreign Ministers marked the end of the line.

Soviet pressure on Western Europe was countered by the Truman doctrine and by Marshall aid, with George F. Kennan coining the concept of "containment."

The Federal Republic of Germany was set up 40 years as its nucleus, not as a state on the lookout for a foreign policy but as the result of a foreign policy on the lookout for a state, as Karl Kaiser put it.

The state of Germany has since comprised not only the legacy of the Second World War but the armistice in the struggle for the German succession. It was thus bound to become the focal point of what Walter Lippmann in 1947 called the Cold War.

The West linked containment of the Soviet Union with containment of the German Question.

The Soviet Union sought to retain its wartime conquests, to keep the Soviet empire under lock and key and to retain the option of holding Western Europe hostage in return for good behaviour on America's part.

East and West, in Allied responsibility for Germany, claimed a legal title to shape the destiny of Central Europe and a veto to change of any kind.

At the same time both sides felt the temptation to queen their respective German pawn in the game of international political chess — and to have Germany as a whole on their own side.

Berlin was always at the heart of the matter. The Soviet blockade of the western part of the city led the world to the brink of war in 1948-49. The game has since marked time, with the West preferring not to make use of uprisings on the outskirts of the Soviet empire to rewrite the map of Europe.

The Western rollback theory was largely rhetorical, while the Soviet Union failed to make the West Germans feel that unity, the key to which lies in Moscow, was more important than freedom, the key to which lies in Washington.

The solution by which Austria was granted unity and independence as a neutral in 1955 was not applicable to Germany as a whole; it is too large and wrongly located geographically.

It needs a superpower if a superpower balance is to be struck, and without the Federal Republic as a member of the Western alliance the Atlantic pact would lack its Continental linchpin.

In 1958 Adenauer, backed by Franz Josef Strauss, sounded out the possibility of an Austrian-style solution for the GDR alone, but that was beyond the reach of the West in general and the Federal Republic in particular.

In exchange for its 1954 renunciation of nuclear weapons the Federal Republic was granted sovereignty in 1955. It was based on both the confidence the Germans had meanwhile inspired and the realisation that the defence of the West must begin on the Elbe — or not at all.

The Federal Republic's Nato ties failed to annul the Allied responsibility for Germany any more than the GDR being incorporated in the Warsaw Pact did.

Bonn's 1954 renunciation of nuclear weapons included an undertaking that the Germans were neither able nor willing to use their new-gained sovereignty to dispense with Allied rights.

This pledge was reiterated in 1968 when the Federal Republic signed the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, Bonn's signature being by far the most important from the Soviet viewpoint.

The more the division of Germany was consolidated in the Cold War, the more Allied responsibility for Germany was concentrated on Berlin. The Berlin and Cuban crises of 1958-1962 were more than regional crises.

The Soviet Union was nearing nuclear parity with the United States and clamouring for adjustments to the bipolar system. The Berlin Wall was one such adjustment, Cuba staying Marxist was another.

The Kremlin came to be respected by the White House. This twofold crisis led to the mode of conflict limitation that soon came to be known as detente.

The "red telephone" link between Washington and Moscow and the 1963 test ban treaty were the nuclear starting point, while Berlin was the focal point in world affairs.

The building of the Berlin Wall was a moment of truth for the Germans. It ended more than the mass exodus of refugees from the GDR.

The concept of Germany by which the Federal Republic was seen as the precursor of a return to "German unity" and the model for a united Germany from the Moselle to the Oder within the framework of European integration was in painful need of revision.

"Both sides felt the temptation to have Germany as a whole on their own side"

Deutschlandpolitik could only hope to meet with success by working from the reality of division rather than from the objective of unity.

The constitutional goal of reunification in peace and freedom and in a united Europe remained the framework term of reference, but the practice has since been limited to conflict containment, custodianship of human rights for all Germans and a *droit de regard* where the GDR was concerned.

That was logical enough. The status quo had to be respected if it was to be amended. The confidence of the West remained the indispensable prerequisite of the Deutschlandpolitik. The Federal Republic could no longer regard itself as a makeshift pending the restoration of national unity. It had to evolve a raison d'état of its own.

Allied responsibility for Germany had survived the Cold War but future policy on Berlin and Germany could no longer be accommodated within this framework.

Enough had remained of the conflict between the Allies to ensure German room to manoeuvre, but enough remained of their condominium to limit German leeway.

So the world powers were left with the task of containing the conflict over Germany, which had come to a head in Berlin, within the framework of the East-West accord and of making it manageable in a smaller-scale accord between the Federal Republic of Germany and the GDR.

Allied responsibility for Germany could neither be handed over to the Germans nor left to the other side.

Thus the 1971 Four-Power Agreement on Berlin emerged as the fulcrum and focal point of both Bonn's new Ostpolitik and the great powers' endeavours to strike a balance between condominium and conflict in the Allied responsibility for Germany.

"The building of the Berlin Wall was a moment of truth for the Germans"

The Four-Power Agreement placed a safety margin between the old struggle for Germany and the new detente and incorporated Allied control over German affairs.

This agreement was not to be had without contradictions. The Soviet Union insisted on having concluded an agreement on West Berlin, the West on having reached agreement on Berlin as a whole. The Agreement itself refers to "the area in question."

The 1971 Four-Power Agreement on Berlin paved the way for the 1972 Basic Treaty between the two German states while at the same time limiting the Basic Treaty's scope.

There are strict limits to what the Allies are agreed on, as a glance at the military documentation is sufficient to show, but Allied responsibility for Germany was and is both the starting-point and the limit to all-German policy.

Changes to this state of affairs are conceivable, but all concerned are keen to maintain the stability of Europe and predictability of the East-West conflict. That is partly why change is virtually inconceivable other than in the context of history.

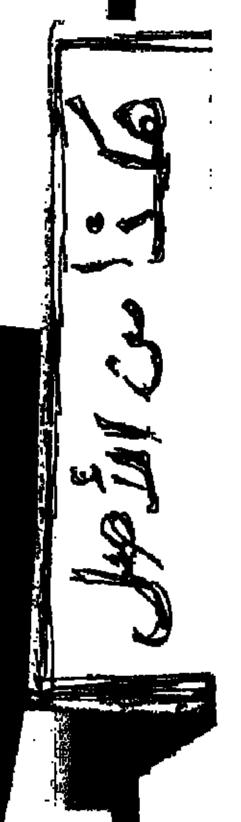
The world has not forgotten that this state of affairs is the outcome of two world wars and the Cold War and that the stability of post-war Europe and relations between the world powers depend on it.

The Germans have not forgotten that this is the price they have had to pay for the course of German history in the 20th century and for the confidence of neighbouring countries — or that Germans in the GDR daily repay this historic debt.

The Allied responsibility for Germany will continue for as long as the heart of Europe is disputed and the East-West conflict continues.

If, however, it assumes other, more civilised proportions, the Soviet Union seeks to strike a balance in the West and the pacts start to show signs of movement, the Germans would be well advised to ponder over a European peace order worthy of the name. Otherwise Allied respon-

Continued on page 5



■ FLASHBACK

Currency reform in 1948: how the mark turned post-war gloom into boom

"Honest money again for honest work!" The headline in the *Rheinische Post* on 19 June, 1948, heralded the most significant turning-point in Germany's early post-war years: currency reform.

Next day, long queues formed outside the issuing centres. Grubby Reichsmark notes were handed over and crisp new Deutsche Mark notes were handed back in exchange.

The amount was rationed. Each person was allowed to exchange 60 Reichsmarks for 40 of the new ones. Another 20 new marks was handed over that August.

This first day, people stood round in groups looking mistrustfully at their new money. There was no watermark, there were none of the usual warnings about punishment for counterfeiting or destroying the notes and not even an indication of which central bank had issued it.

Many didn't like either its colour or its form. Some called it "un-German".

These first notes were similar to the US dollar. This was hardly surprising, since they had already been issued in utmost secrecy in New York in the winter of 1947/48, then shipped to Bremerhaven and, finally, stored in Frankfurt under the strict supervision of the American military police.

A few days before currency reform "D-day" lorries transported the 500 tonnes of notes to 200 branches of the regional central banks.

In terms of cash at least, everybody was equal that first day. All had just 40 marks. Of course, people who owned real estate (which provided collateral security for lending) or other goods (which could now be officially sold for money) still had assets.

Almost DM2bn of the new currency found its way into the pockets of the people of "Trizonesia" (the three western zones of occupation) by 21 June, 1948.

After this date, people were also called upon to hand in their Reichsmark money at the banks and declare all their deposits.

Just before the currency reform began the Economic Council of the three western zones passed the "Law on Basic Economic Policy Principles following the Currency Reform".

This law enabled economic policy administrators to relax economic control.

At this stage, however, the Allies did not consider lifting economic control altogether.

Ludwig Erhard, the director of Trizonesia's economic policy administration — and later Bonn Economics Minister — then took the big gamble.

Without consulting the Allied military bureaucracy, he announced the far-reaching elimination of economic control stipulations and laid the foundation stone for the free market economy

Overnight, he managed to release market forces and enable the sale of an undreamt-of range of goods.

After the dictatorial management of the economy under the Nazis and the strict economic control of the early post-war years many Germans had forgotten that there was such a thing as demand and supply. Many products which the average German was only familiar with by hearsay were now suddenly available in the shops.

On 22 June the supply of vegetables was already greater than demand for the first time since the war.

Leather bags, shelves full of women's underwear and bales of cloth, good-quality paper and many other articles of merchandise could be bought in unlimited quantities.

Amid the joy at the sight of all these goods there was bitterness at the fact that many people had been forced to give all their possessions to farmers before currency reform just to get enough food.

The situation after the war had rapidly worsened. Industrial production in the western part of Germany had dropped to 40 per cent of the 1936 level.

This meant that, arithmetically, each person in this part of Germany could afford one suit every 40 years, one shirt every 10 years and a pair of shoes every three years. It meant that only every second baby had nappies.

The nutrition level had reached its lowest-ever post-war level of 1,000 calories per day. Any entrepreneurial spirit was stifled by the increasingly strict management of privation.

Many people were no longer willing to work, since rationing meant that a day's wages in Reichsmark couldn't be spent on goods anyway.

It often made greater sense to spend the whole day on the black market trying to sell the allocated per capita ration of 40 cigarettes and six-week period, a ration worth roughly two weeks wages.

The western allies were aware of this situation when they began devising the currency reform in the western zones in September 1947.

Efforts were intensified after the Allied Control Council split up once and for all on 20 March, 1948.

On 20 April, 1948, a handful of financial experts, singled out by the bizonal Economic Council, made their way in a rickety old bus to a remote barracks building at at the Rothwesten military airport north of Kassel.

They were told that this would be their home while they help allied experts work out a currency reform.

The USSR reacted to the announcement of the currency reform in the western zones (excluding Berlin) on 19 June by sealing off Berlin and closing all border crossings to the western zones.

The official reason given for this action was to protect the population "from the damaging repercussions of the western currency reform."

Marshal Sokolovski declared West Berlin to be a part of the Soviet zone of occupation and banned possession of the Deutsche Mark in the entire eastern zone.

On 23 June, 1948, the Soviets introduced a currency reform in their own occupation zone.

In the struggle for power in Berlin the city's population endured a long period of terror. The blockade was not lifted until May 1949.

In the three western zones the currency reform triggered an economic upswing. It was again worthwhile to go to work.

The removal of the controlled economy system, the availability of previously hoarded goods on the free market, and the lifting of the price freeze meant the end of the black market.

The previously paralysed industrial production picked up, residential building began, and reconstruction soon took place at a pace which would not be matched in neighbouring countries.

During the first two years alone following the introduction of the currency reform real GNP increased by 40 per cent; exports increased sixfold in just four years.

The Marshall Plan funds helped put the German economy back on its feet.

The dismantling of machinery practiced up until 1951 had one useful side effect. the new factories in Germany were more modern and more efficient than in the countries of many competitors on the world market.

The Deutsche Mark was already put to its first real test in autumn 1948.

After the initial stocks of hoarded goods had been sold prices began to soar despite a considerable increase in production.

Pent-up inflation, the rapid expansion of the money supply and the high velocity of money circulation caused by the marked propensity of private households to consume accelerated this price rise.

It was not until December that consumer prices began to fall following a limitation of the official creation of money and the introduction of credit restrictions for banks. These moves were accompanied by a continuing increase in the production of goods.

Even though the development of prices over the past forty years has reduced the purchasing power of the Deutsche Mark by almost two thirds the currency is still in good shape on its 40th anniversary.

It is the most stable currency of the western world. At an annual average of 2.8 per cent during the last forty years inflation in the Federal Republic of Germany has been even lower than in Switzerland.

Barbara Eufinger
(Rheinische Post, Düsseldorf, 18 June 1988)

Politics at first hand

Detailed and objective information is what you need if you are to hold your own on politics and world affairs: facts on which to base your own political viewpoint.
Aussenpolitik, the quarterly foreign affairs review, gives you facts at first hand for an annual DM50 plus p&p.
Write today for a sample copy of the English edition, at no obligation, to the publishers, INTERPRESS GmbH, Hartwicusstr. 3—4, D-2000 Hamburg 76, Federal Republic of Germany. Tel. (040) 229 06 09.

AUSSEN POLITIK
German Foreign Affairs Review

Editorial Advisory Board:
Heinrich Bechtoldt
Editor-in-Chief
Hans Apel
Herbert von Borch
Klaus Ritter
Walter Scheel
Helmut Schmidt
Richard von Weizsäcker
Gerhard Wettig

— Coupon for a sample copy —

Name
Address
Country
Profession

Continued from page 4

sibility would continue to have to stand in its stead with the tacit approval of all Germany's neighbours.

As for the new-found impatience with Allied responsibility, which some would sooner see go today than tomorrow, what is to take its place — the place of Allied responsibility?

Those who are impatient with it must bear in mind that the shape Germany has taken, for better or for worse, has always been intimately linked with the state of Europe and that Allied responsibility for Germany includes the US and Canadian forces stationed in Central Europe.

Arthur F. Burns, the former US ambassador in Bonn, called them "trustees of the German nation."

World power always requires a world power as a counterweight, and were it not for the Federal Republic's integration in the West and the North Atlantic pact Bonn's interests would amount to no more than autumn leaves in an easterly wind.

As Bismarck noted on German unity: "We can put the clock forward but that doesn't make time pass any faster, and the ability to wait as the situation develops is a sine qua non of practical politics."

Michael Stürmer
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 16 June 1988)

■ TRADE

Japan and Europe still in dispute over restrictions in spite of all the words

RHEINISCHER MERKUR

Relations between the two major international trading powers, the European Community and Japan, remain tense.

There is endless talk on both sides about the need to further liberalise world trade and dismantle trade barriers.

But the words are all too often not matched by action. In economic and trading policies there are still many points of dispute.

For years European politicians would have had us believe that the offenders *were only in the Far East. But that is not so.*

The limitation of car imports from Japan to specific market shares or numbers of vehicles, so that France, Britain and Italy could protect their own manufacturers, is one example.

What would happen without these barriers can be seen in countries such as Germany or Belgium, where the Japanese have achieved a high share of imports.

From Europe to Japan, matters are worse. Two makes of German car are about to penetrate Japan (Daimler-Benz and BMW).

But the Japanese are making it difficult by using a multitude of environmental-protection conditions and technical requirements and standards. There is unlikely to be any change to this in the foreseeable future.

Japan's Prime Minister, Noboru Takeshita, is well aware of the problems. He followed up his visit to President Reagan in Washington with two trips to Western Europe: at the beginning of May he visited Britain, Italy and Germany, and at the beginning of June he went to The Hague, Paris and Brussels.

Jacques Delors, president of the European Commission, must have had plenty of opportunity to study Japanese idiosyncrasies when he was the French Economic Affairs and Finance Minister.

The Japanese Prime Minister discussed with him primarily questions of general economic interest — with an eye, of course, to the industrialised nations' summit in Toronto.

Delors and Willy de Clerq, the Commissioner responsible for external relations and the Community's trading policies, made it clear to Mr Takeshita that the Europeans were still unhappy about trade between the Community and Japan.

In a resumé of developments produced by the Brussels Commission, trade between Western Europe and Japan has grown "in a spectacular manner" over the past 15 years.

In 1970 the trade deficit with Japan was only $500m; in 1987 it was $24.2bn. Between 1986 and 1987 alone the EC deficit rose 13 per cent.

There is a distorted picture certainly when the situation is looked at on a dollar basis. But even if the position is expressed in Ecu or Yen terms, the EC deficit is colossal.

EC exports to Japan have increased by 20 per cent, greater than Japanese exports to the EC (up 6.1 per cent).

These figures refute the charge that Europe is not "an open market." The Japanese have achieved growth in the "Old World" while their exports worldwide have dropped 5.6 per cent, and trade to the USA has fallen 10.4 per cent.

Japanese financial activities have also been very favourable to Japan, for instance direct investments. Japanese companies have invested $13.3bn in the European Community *(as at the end of* March 1987), twelve times more than the EC has invested in Japan. In the 12 EC member-states 223 Japanese companies have set up shop, employing 75,000.

It is just here that European companies show their weakness. At the time when Wilhelm Haferkamp, vice-president of the EC Commission, retired in 1985, managers regularly complained about the host of trade barriers other than customs barriers that the Japanese had erected.

Haferkamp made it known to these complainers that, independent of all barriers, European businessmen would never conquer the Far Eastern market without exerting themselves considerably.

He pointed out that Japan, with a population of 120 million consumers, was an important sales market for them.

In the meantime the jungle of Japanese trade restrictions has been thinned out a little, but complaints to Tokyo still achieve little.

Anti-dumping accusations fill volumes. It is a matter of routine for Japanese manufacturers to undercut prices on European markets with their products.

The committee responsible within the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (Gatt) is constantly having to deal with disputes of this kind. The behaviour and actions of the third trading giant, the USA, are given considerable attention by Tokyo and Brussels. They are looked upon with suspicion and that holds good for the prevailing atmosphere of cooperation.

In 1987, for example, the EC Commission protested bitterly against the "semiconductor agreement" between the US and Japan, because the Commission feared it would be to Europe's disadvantage.

Another instance is symptomatic of the tensions between Tokyo, Washington and Brussels. Tokyo looked coolly on demands that interested companies from all over the world should be given the chance to participate in the construction of an international airport near Osaka in Kansai Prefecture.

The Japanese said it was out of the question because of the lack of local and project knowledge.

In the meantime the Japanese have relented, but it looks as if American, rather than European, companies are to get a share of the cake.

There are also problems with agricultural produce and alcoholic drinks, apart from cars, machinery and high-technology equipment.

Brussels has requested Tokyo many times to cut the horrendous customs duty on wines and spirits from EC countries. Japanese tax on wine is 50 per cent above the EC's external tariffs and there is a 220 per cent difference for whisky.

At the end of last year the Gatt committee responsible discovered that the Japanese taxation system for wine and spirits contravened Gatt requirements.

Until now Tokyo has only hesitantly and quite inadequately reacted to requests to bow to this arbitration.

Brussels has also demanded unimpeded access to Japanese financial markets for European banks.

Shipbuilding is another point of conflict between the EC and Japan. The Japanese share of world shipbuilding has increased from ten per cent in 1950 to 50 per cent now. The Europeans complain that this has only been possible by injecting billions in subsidies into the industry.

Now all the shipbuilding sinners together — the EC, the Japanese, the South Koreans and others — have agreed to take action for fair competition within this crisis-ridden industry. This is a relief.

Takeshita could not, or would not, make any positive undertakings concerning these demands during his visit to the EC's headquarters. He has only been *in office since last November and he has* to build up his public image at home.

He emphasised that he was aware of the responsibility that his country and the EC bore in the current eighth Gatt negotiations for futher liberalisation of world trade — the Uruguay Round as they are known.

The major disagreement between the USA, Japan and the European Community has yet to come in these negotiations — another acid test of their fine-sounding intentions.

But it is not only the Europeans who are plagued by worries. The Japanese are looking with some concern on current efforts to realise a Single European Market at the end of 1992 for the free movement within the market of people, goods, capital and services.

They cannot get rid of the fear that the EC will become a kind of "fortress," an inaccessible market.

EC Commissioner Willy de Clerq has tried to calm Takeshita's concern in this direction, but he has failed completely to do so.

Hans-Peter Ott

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 17 June 1988)

US emotions run low over thoughts of 1992

Most Americans would connect the year 1992 with a presidential election.

The fact that 1992 is the year when a single Europe market will come into being, a market of 320 million consumers, a third as large again as the giant North American market, has had no political or economic significance outside a few government offices in Washington and executive suites in some major companies.

But even experts have some doubts whether the 12 countries in the EC, with almost as many languages and currencies, can achieve their goal in the few years between now and then, and sweep aside the multitude of barriers and restrictions that stand in the way of the free movement of goods and services.

Opinion about European intentions are divided. A group of trade experts in Washington, like the Europeans themselves, predict new opportunities for growth and increasing world trade.

Others take the view that the European Single Market will accelerate the division of the world into trading blocs and will thus be a barrier to trade.

Like the Japanese the Americans, albeit not to the same extent, fear that the Europeans could erect protectionist walls around the large single market, which would block the flow of overseas goods and services, as is the case at present with agricultural produce.

The spirit of free trade is not so widespread among the other 12 countries as it is in the Federal Republic, it is believed in Washington, and as evidence of this the Americans point out how skilfully the French and Italians have placed limits on the import of Japanese cars.

American complaints about forming blocs are not very convincing. Last year America concluded a trade agreement with Canada, to be ratified by both countries this year — in the midst of considerable dispute — going into effect on 1 January next year.

Over the following ten years all trade barriers between the two countries should be swept aside. The market of 275 million consumers, which this will create, will intensify internal trade, as in Europe.

Will this be to the disadvantage of third countries? For the time being the question is left to good intentions and as a consequence unanswered.

The situation of American companies presents a quite different picture, particularly the majors. They are not lingering over commercial theorising or reflections as to whether the Europeans will achieve the single market on schedule.

For them 1992 is a reality and they want to take up the challenges and opportunities of the Single Internal Market.

Many of them have a lead over their European competitors. For many American companies, such as General Motors, Ford and IBM, Europe has been a single entity for many years, and these companies have treated it as such where possible. They are determined to maintain this lead and extend it.

Their position has been further strengthened by the weakness of the dollar which means that goods produced in the US are again competitive on European markets.

The Dow Chemical Company, for instance, had a turnover of $5bn in Europe last year. After 1992 the company expects to reduce costs by as much as $50m annually, basically through the harmonisation of standards and uniform government regulations for pharmaceuticals and chemicals.

The Caterpillar Company, with factories in Britain and France, is convinced that their market position will be improved if trade is no longer hampered by red-tape.

Consumer goods producers, such as Coca Cola and Gillette, have already set their sights on integrated advertising campaigns, possible with uniform production standards.

Packaging designs can be used all over Europe with multi-language notices and consumer instructions.

Chrysler vice-president Michael

Continued on page 9

■ THE WORKFORCE

Legal grey area under scrutiny: firms cut costs by using free-lance staff

In this age of high unemployment, the use of "self-employed workers" is becoming a widespread practice in many industries. It means that firms can hire people, pay them slightly over the going rate but save on wage incidentals such as insurances. One employment office spokesman says that the practice has always existed. What is new is its extent. It is now common in meat-processing, construction and data-processing. Many employed on this basis find that the slightly higher wage leaves them with less after paying medical insurance, pension scheme and other extras. It is also a system that leaves them employed only at the whim of their employer. This article was written for the Bonn daily, *Die Welt*, by Boris Kalnoky.

He looks like a waiter, balancing trays from the counter to the customer, taking orders, serving food and drink and, occasionally, being tipped.

But not any more. He is now an entrepreneur and a free agent in the "gastronomic service" trade. His work and boss are unchanged; he is merely paid on a different basis.

He "buys" the glass of soda water or the plate of mixed salad from the restaurant owner, who looks on frombehind the counter, and "sells" it to the customer.

The boss dictates the prices. They settle after closing time. Hiring and firing is on a weekly basis.

As a self-employed businessman you aren't compulsorily insured, and you are unlikely to make voluntary contributions when you simply can't afford it.

The butcher stands at what looks like an assembly line — except that disassembly is probably more appropriate for the blood-spattering work of stripping down carcasses of beef and pork.

He severs the bones with an axe and a saw and strips down the meat with his knives. But he too is self-employed, with his own tools and equipment.

He also runs his own risks. What happens if he is ill? If he has an accident at work? If he is sacked? What about pension contributions? They're all his lookout.

If any of the four presents problems, that's too bad. As a self-employed man he has to choose: either to take out full insurance and take home barely enough to live on — or to live well and trust to luck.

These are just a couple of instances out tens of thousands. All are wage (or salary) earners — or unemployed men and women — who have gone into business on their own (on their own behalf and at their own risk, as German business contracts often state).

That isn't to say they are genuinely self-employed. They are shady figures, the sham self-employed, for whom the investigators of the trades and factory inspectorate, the health insurance schemes and the Labour Office are on the lookout.

A spokesman for the Federal Association of Health Insurance Funds: "They are employed people who work like wage- or salary-earners but are paid like the self-employed because their employer wants to avoid paying wage incidentals.

"They are usually paid more than wage- or salary-earners but have to pay all their stoppages out of their own pockets and are no longer entitled to holidays with pay, Christmas bonuses, sickness benefits and legal protection against wrongful dismissal."

Within two years, 1985 and 1986, local health insurance fund branches identified roughly 15,000 persons employed by 857 firms whose self-employed status was shown to be bogus.

This figure was compiled in a Hamburg survey that has yet to be completed. It is enormous when one considers that it consists solely of proven cases in a sector where legal definitions are extremely vague and offenders hard to bring to book.

"Yet only 78 per cent of local branches answered our questionnaire and only 53 per cent had come across cases of sham self-employed status," says Ulrich Paasch.

"So the figure is probably no more than the tip of an iceberg." He is a lecturer at the Academy of Economic and Political Science, Hamburg, and one of the authors of the survey.

Labour Minister Hermann Heinemann of North Rhine-Westphalia says hundreds of thousands have lost social security and the protection afforded by labour tribunals in this way.

The problem itself is not new; what is new is the growing importance it has assumed in the context of ongoing mass unemployment.

"The crucial factor is the very high wage incidentals in the Federal Republic," says the health insurance expert.

"Small and medium-sized firms are keen to spot loopholes. But people can only be made to bite the bullet when there is high unemployment."

A former fitter who is now self-employed: "They simply gave us no choice," says a former fitter, now self-employed, for an annealing company.

Twelve out of a staff of 16 were fired — and retained as sub-contractors. "They told us we would do the same work and earn even more on balance.

"Our hourly rates were increased from DM16 to DM23, plus DM2 an hour for site work instead of the previous daily expenses allowance of DM60.

"But when you have to pay all the insurance contributions yourself you're not left with all that much and can hardly afford to take a holiday at all.

"Besides, you stand to be punished for getting into the firm's bad books. They often beat you down to a lower hourly rate for individual jobs.

"You refuse at your peril. You can then spend three or four weeks at home waiting for the next job. That can hit you very hard. We are totally dependent on the firm, which owns the expensive material."

One-man firms are increasingly being taken on as franchise-holders in many trades and on doubtful terms.

You can sign on as a self-employed car washer with a Hamburg company that cleans second-hand cars for dealers.

But you must first invest DM11,000 in what are described as "cleansing agents," "high-quality advertising brochures" and a "two-day training course."

(This is a variation on the pyramid-selling system where a person buys goods from a firm and then sells or tries to sell them. It is banned in some countries.)

You must also undertake to attend further training courses from time to time, "appropriate course fees" being payable.

You may only use cleansing agents supplied by the firm — at prices it fixes. You aren't guaranteed sole rights in a given area, but the company may supply further customers — for a special fee.

Breach of contract costs at least DM3,000 and is a ground for instant dismissal, in which case the company is entitled to all franchise payments until the end of the normal notice period, plus a one-off DM5,000 as compensation for loss of earnings.

The contract says that "this sum is the minimum payable and loss of earnings does not need to be proved."

Hans-Henning Strauss, of the North Rhine-Westphalian Labour Office: "*What is new is that sham self-employment* occurs in all trades these days, but particularly in meat processing, in the construction industry and in data processing."

His department has been taking a closer look at the phenomenon for several weeks. "We have to arrive at a conclusive analysis before we can act but we are already stepping up our investigations."

Michael Vial of the Federal Labour Office in Nuremberg, says: "These methods are undermining the Hired Labour Act."

"Fair contracts and labour hired for limited periods are increasingly being replaced by contracts with one-man entrepreneurs."

There is little the Labour Office, which is supposed to ensure a modicum of order in the labour market, can do. "We are only entitled to make checks when we have a definite suspicion that the law is being broken. So we can only come across cases of sham self-employment by coincidence."

A Dortmund firm specialising in coach tours to Spain hired drivers who used to work for another firm that recently went out of business as self-employed sub-contractors.

Their sole job as self-employed men is to drive the firm's coaches. The coaches are the company's property, with drivers each investing DM10,000 in them as limited partners.

The firm drew up a model balance sheet showing that self-employed drivers could expect to take home DM2,500 a month after all stoppages. Salaried drivers earn roughly the same, including expenses.

But the self-employed drivers must make provision for holidays (the cost of the holiday plus the income not earned), and he can forget about Christmas bonuses or protection from wrongful dismissal.

Sham self-employed status is a tough nut to crack legally, with definitions too vague by far.

A 1953 Act relating solely to commercial travellers describes it as being "largely free to conduct one's business as one sees fit and to decide on one's own working hours."

But, as Ludger Backhaus of the North Rhine-Westphalian Labour Ministry puts it: "The legal distinction between wage- and salary-earners and the self-employed remains unclear.

"Case law regards as the decisive criterion individual control over the manner, place and time of one's work.

"But if general guidelines outline a job in such detail that effective control is exercised without the need to give special instructions, there can be no question of arranging work as one sees fit."

Boris Kalnoky

(Die Welt, Bonn, 15 June 1988)

Please mail to:
Axel Springer Verlag AG, DIE WELT, WELT am SONNTAG
Anzeigenabteilung, Postfach 30 58 30, D 2000 Hamburg 36

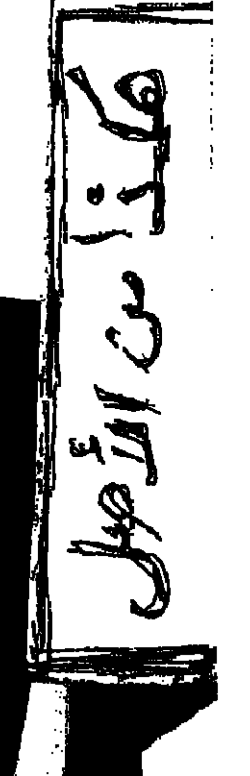
I am interested in real estate/investment advertising in Germany.

~~Please make me a quotation for "The Great Combination"~~

DIE WELT
UNABHÄNGIGE TAGESZEITUNG FÜR DEUTSCHLAND
WELT am SONNTAG

Name/Firm:

Address:



■ THE THIRD WORLD

25 years since German peace corps began — with JFK as a guest

President John F. Kennedy was President Heinrich Lübke's guest at the founding of the German Volunteer Service (Deutscher Entwicklungsdienst - DED) 25 years ago.

The model for the German service was the American Peace Corps, established by President Kennedy two years earlier in 1961.

Over the past quarter of a century the 8,000 male and female DED volunteers have contributed much to the Third World. They have also learned a lot.

There are 900 DED volunteers in developing countries and the slums of proliferating cities. There is no question that their work is self-sacrificing, often carried out with considerable risk to life and limb.

Doctors, male and female, cooperate with local nursing sisters to build up health facilities. Trade school teachers and motor mechanics instruct in theory and provide basic practical knowledge.

Hydrologists teach how water can be tapped and how to be economical with it. Foresters try to retain the vegetation or to revive it, and despite poverty, put a stop to over-exploitation of nature.

These activites are not carried out in development projects initiated by the DED, and not with a lot of money, but in close cooperation with local skilled people and using modest means.

The financial and personal conditions for DED volunteers to work successfully have been considerably improved by close cooperation with other development aid organisations of donor countries and international institutions.

Development aid volunteers are at the lowest rung in the development aid heirachy ladder among the foreign experts in developing countries, experts who more often than not get under one another's feet instead of working together.

Volunteers get DM1,150 a month and a modest cost-of-living allowance — not much compared with experts who work for the Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit, the society for technical cooperation, who get DM10,000 a month.

The DED volunteers, however, are also experts. The developing countries demand that they have had professional training and experience.

More than 60 per cent of the male and female volunteers who are taken on are university graduates, who have the necessary practical sense.

The more academics were take on, the higher became the average age. It is today 33.

It is for this reason that a half of the volunteers go out to developing countries with either their husband or wife, sometimes with a family. The DED headquarters in the Kladow district of Berlin currently has to provide for 430 children of DED volunteers.

Previously it was mostly young people who were filled with enthusiasm for service in developing countries. Today complaints can be heard about DED having too many people "with seniority." The older ones pride themselves on their experience.

Much has changed in DED, but the volunteers are cast in the same mould as those of the early years. They are a different breed from those of their contemporaries who decide to stay at home and carve out careers.

People in an organisation, which is described as a specialist service with social involvement, expect not only to help overseas, but also awaken with missionary zeal an awareness of the need for development aid.

They are restless, impatient, self-willed and rebellious.

Every development aid minister has been aware of this. Even Erhard Eppler, who identified himself totally with the role of development aid volunteers, was not spared DED conflicts.

He said: "No other organisation gave me so much worry in the six years I was Development Aid Minister."

The Bonn government has given DED a budget for this year of DM88m. The Bonn government is the main shareholder in the DED non-profit organisation. DED operates under contract from the government. An amalgamation of private organisations, the "Learning and Helping Overseas" working group, holds five per cent of the shares.

The Minister for Economic Cooperation has political responsibility for DED.

It is only natural for young people who are tempted by distant places and important undertakings to feel a considerable urge to be independent. They would prefer to be completely independent.

Because of this it has been impossible to exclude disagreements over official development aid policy.

There have been communication difficulties between DED volunteers and the organisation itself, which certainly does not lack understanding of its protégés.

All Bonn governments have shown themselves ready to compromise in their dealings with development aid volunteers. Conflicts were overcome, sometimes swiftly, sometimes with agony.

There has been constant debate. When the excitement with Bonn government policies in Nicaragua has died down, displeasure with government policies over South Africa raises its head.

The chairman of the DED administration, Johannes Niemeyer, regards it as a matter of course that DED volunteers bring their experience from working on the spot into discussions on development aid policies. He believes controversy to be not only necessary but also fruitful.

Niemeyer said that he would not want to disregard the emphases which DED volunteers bring to development aid policies.

In the disputes, that go back four years, volunteers have secured a lot of independence — but of prime importance a right of participation in the management of DED.

It becomes outrageous when matters are talked about endlessly and discussions are polarised in conference after conference.

The DED takes pleasure in discussion about itself, for instance along the lines of how the organisation sees its own role.

The German Volunteer Service has frittered away a lot of time in pointless friction and with exaggeated concern about itself over the past 25 years. This wasted time could have been put to better use serving the needs of the Third World.

Klaus Broichhausen

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 21 June 1988)

More poorest-nation debt must be written off, says minister

Germany has provided DM140 billion over the past 30 years in development aid to 24,000 projects in 140 countries. In this article, Hans Klein, The Bonn Economic Cooperation Minister, talks about development aid to Hermann Frühauf of the *Allgemeine Zeitung, Mainz*.

Question: You made 10 June "Third World Information Day." Why? Three out of every four people approve the aims of development aid.

Klein: Most people, 74 per cent, approve of development aid for the Third World. But public opinion polls are answered on the spur of the moment. Development aid requires the constant agreement of people in this country. This is why I designated the 10 June a nationwide "Third World Information Day." On this day we could show our solidarity with those who particularly need our help, by demonstrating the German contribution from the state, churches and private organisations to development aid efforts.

The public will be able to get extensive information about economic cooperation with partner countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America through any number of events and a nationwide telephone talk-in with myself as Minister for Economic Cooperation. I have high hopes that the effect will continue long past the day.

Q: The Federal Republic has supported 24,000 projects in 140 countries with DM140 billion over the past 30 years. In view of these figures can you not be accused of having spread development aid too thinly over too many projects, the watering can effect, instead of having concentrated on an important few?

Klein: In a world that is continuously shrinking people today have to rely on one another. This is why no country, which needs help, can be excluded from development cooperation activities. The Federal Republic, as one of the largest industrialised countries in the world and a major development aid donor nation, has responsibilities worldwide. The country cannot concentrate on a few countries in need. This has nothing to do with "watering can principles," but it has a lot to do with our worldwide responsibilities for those who have to be helped.

Q: The countries of the Third World have an enormous debt burden. It is true that since 1978 Germany has written off DM4.2 billion of debts incurred by the poorest nations, and has provided them with grants that do not have to be repaid.

Nevertheless is that sufficient? Does Germany plan further debt remission in the foreseeable future?

Klein: What has been done so far is not sufficient. Germany must write off bilateral state debts to provide an effective and credible contribution to solving the debt crisis of states which are particularly poor, deeply in debt and ready to introduce reforms. This definition applies to six African states. The total sum involved is about DM2.3 billion.

World-wide responsibilities . . . Hans Klein (Photo: Sven Simon)

Q: Measured in gross national product terms, Germany provides more development aid than other industrialised nations, but still less than the UN expects. Do you have well-founded expectations of being able to increase the state's development aid budget?

Klein: According to the UN Resolution, to which you refer, every developed nation should make available to the Third World 0.7 per cent of its GNP output. The industrialised nations accepted this performance objective primarily only as a guideline and without a specific time span limitation. The current German contribution of 0.43 per cent is well above the average among the industrialised nations — the average being 0.36 per cent of GNP.

The development aid budget share of the national budget has continuously increased over the past few years. It will continue to increase, I hope, over the coming years.

Q: Every year millions of Germans spend their holidays in countries of the Third World. There is considerable criticism of Third World tourism, particularly the behaviour of individual holidaymakers. What is your view of Third World tourism? What advice would you give German holidaymakers?

Klein: The spoken or unspoken view of tourists who go to Third World countries is that this contributes automatically to that country's development is untrue. It is much more important to understand other cultures and learn from them. Anyone who travels in the Third World, well-prepared beforehand, can contribute to better understanding between North and South, creating human bridges between both sides.

Hermann Frühauf

(Allgemeine Zeitung, Mainz, 10 June 1988)

■ AEROSPACE

The new Ariane puts three satellites into orbit

Ariane 4, the largest launcher rocket built by Esa, the European Space Agency, took off for the first time from the Kourou space centre in French Guiana after two delays because of technical hitches. Twenty minutes after take-off it put three satellites into orbit: a European meteorological satellite, an amateur radio satellite and an American telecom satellite.

Ariane 4 is an enlarged version of the launcher rocket that has made 19 successful take offs — and four failures — since 1979.

It is much longer than either of the earlier versions, Ariane 2 and 3. A longer first stage and a new payload housing add about 10 metres to its length.

A new electronic brain steers during the first phase, which lasts about 15 minutes.

The new rocket has been made more powerful mainly by extra booster rockets attached to the lower section of the first stage which are fired at take-off to provide extra thrust.

There are two new versions of these auxiliary rockets, one with solid and one with liquid fuel.

The liquid-fuel booster rockets are a further development of the second stage. They are built near Bremen.

The two boosters make the new-look Ariane extremely flexible. Various permutations of booster rockets suit specific purposes.

There are six variations: the Ariane 4 without booster rockets and with either two or four liquid- or solid-fuel rockets.

The maiden flight used a hybrid version, with two liquid- and two solid-fuel rockets.

Depending on booster rocket array, Ariane 4 can put payloads of between 1,900 and 4,200kg into geostationary orbit, as generally used by telecom satellites.

They appear to hover 36,000km over the equator and can be readily sighted by transmitters and receivers.

The latest addition to the Ariane family is made even more flexible by an improved payload casing, the hood that protects the nose of the rocket on take-off.

It can hold up to three satellites simultaneously, making best use of the loading bay.

Ariane 4 will be the workhorse of Western European space travel until at least the mid-1990s, with about eight take-offs a year from a newly-built launching platform.

Arianespace, the booking agency, has orders in hand to launch 44 satellites at a cost of roughly DM5bn.

Ariane 3 is still in business but due to be retired next year. Ariane 4, in its various versions, will then be on its own.

The marketing agency feels Ariane is a sound proposition. When it entered the running in 1981 it was expected to handle 50 per cent of the satellite launching business.

After the Challenger disaster Ariane was the only operator for a while. But competitors have since emerged. Chinese and Soviet launching facilities are now being offered cheaply.

American private companies are shortly to enter the running with three old rockets, some of which were in use for decades before Ariane arrived on the scene.

So the outlook for the Western European rocket depended heavily on the success of Ariane 4's maiden mission.

It was a test run, with the payload being provided free of charge, but at the user's own risk. So the three satellites were interesting but not necessarily exclusive. One was the US PanAmSat, part of a private enterprise worldwide satellite network. Then there was prototype of the European Meteosat 3. The Meteosat network is to operate from a geostationary position, but the Mk 3 was not due to be ready until next year, the first regular Ariane 4 take-off not being expected until the end of 1988. So the Meteosat 3 prototype was taken out of mothballs and launched to bridge a possible gap between theory and practice, experiment and operation. The smallest satellite on board Ariane 4 was Oscar, short for Orbiting Satellite Carrying Radio, the 13th satellite of Amsat, the amateur radio satellite organisation.

Radio hams from all over the world can now use a new satellite for their hobby and for experiments. Largely unnoticed, they have been using orbital satellites since 1961.

Oscar 13, like two predecessors, was designed and built by staff of Marburg University central electronics laboratory.

The satellite serves a scientific purpose. It will be used to test multiple transceiver access in outer space, a technique that could prove extremely important as frequencies are increasingly used.

Oscar cost DM1.5m and was funded by the Federal Research and Technology Ministry.

Including labour, it will probably have cost DM10m. But that still makes it a bargain; comparable projects normally cost much more.

Costs were cut by volunteer labour supplied by radio hams. If Oscar had been aborted their man-hours would have been the main loss.

Ariane 4 improved Esa's track record from Amsat's viewpoint from 50:50 to two out of three.

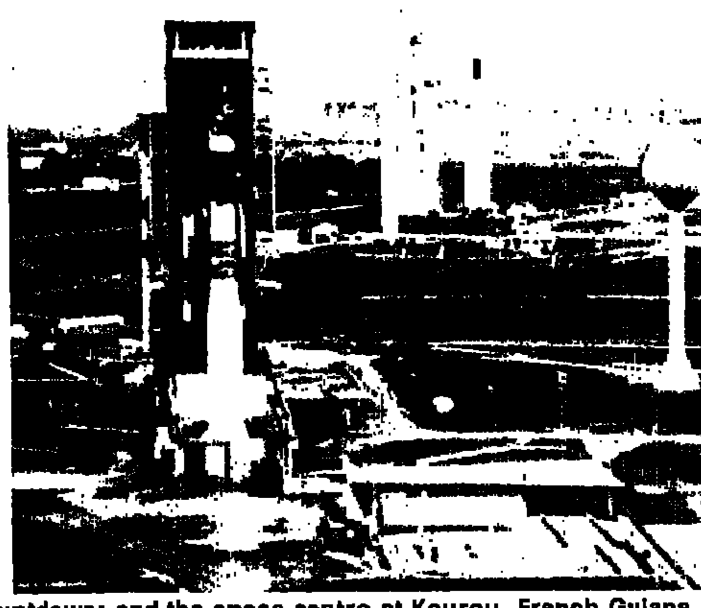
One previous mission was a success, while another, in May 1980, did not even rate a successful splashdown.

That particular Oscar sank without trace, together with the wreckage of the Ariane, in the south Atlantic.

Wolfgang Brauer

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 11 June 1988)





Gateway to the stars. Ariane 4 at countdown; and the space centre at Kourou, French Guiana. (Photos: AP)

Common market

Continued from page 6

Hammes is in no doubt that the decision to market cars again in Europe has been triggered off through the emergence of a Single European Market.

It is certainly true that many major American companies are well prepared for the Single European Market, many better prepared than their European competitors.

Stephen Telegdy, spokesman for Dow Chemical, commented: "We have tried for a long time to be pan-European. For this reason 1992 will mean for us less of a change than for many a European company."

The situation for smaller American companies, who until now have only had supplier-customer relations across the Atlantic, is different. The Single European Market will be something of a threat to them.

But that could quickly change. In America there has been any number of surveys urgently urging these companies to recognise and use "the extraordinarily favourable opportunities that will be offered by the Single European Market."

That quotation comes from a Data Research Inc. study, whose chief economist, David Hartman, advises with emphasis: "The time has come to be present in the European market, to build up existing commercial bases or to enter into strategic contacts with European companies."

Gerd Brüggemann

(Die Welt, Bonn, 21 June 1988)

220,000 suppliers of 75,000 products 'made in Germany'



Who manufactures what?

Find suppliers and products, send for quotations, compare prices, track down special sources of supply, cut costs by buying at lower prices.

This is a reference work every buying department should have at the ready.

Easy to use, just like an encyclopaedia:

Products, including 9,000 trade marks, are arranged alphabetically, complete with manufacturer's or supplier's address.

A telephone number is listed for each supplier.

1,400 pages A4, indexed in English and French.

Price: DM98.44 post free in Germany, DM107 cif abroad.

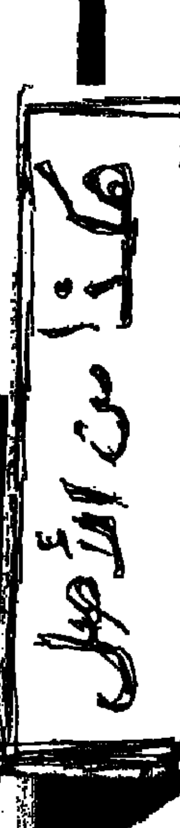
Air mail extra.

Order direct from us or from your regular bookseller.



DAV-Verlagshaus
Postfach 11 04 52
D-6100 Darmstadt
Federal Republic of Germany

Tel.: (0 61 51) 3 91-0



■ BOOKS

Thousands of disintegrating volumes keep restorers hard at work

The ravages of time had taken their toll on the books: for 200 years, the cold and the heat and the insects and the dust had gone to work on them.

Then, during repair work in the synagogue in Hechingen, they were discovered in an attic.

Today, two years later, they make piteous sights; piles of tattered paper without covers on the clean plastic work table of Alfred Wellhäuser.

Wellhäuser is a restorer of old books at Tübingen University. He brings about a dozen old books such as these back to their pristine glory every year.

The torn pages are treated, missing parts added, the pages washed and treated with a preservative, the cover repaired and embellished once more.

The result is books that look just as they did when they were commissioned long ago by well-to-do people from bookbinders.

The craft of restoring books is far from dying out. It is going through something of a boom. There is too much work for the number of restorers. Hundreds of thousands of books, many valuable, are waiting the attentions of the few experts in the field.

In Tübingen University alone there are 250,000 that need restorating and another 800,000 where the situation is urgent — and there is only one man to do the job.

The university also has a collection of old oriental documents.

In rough detail the method Alfred Wellhäuser applies to delapidated books is always the same. But many books are unique in themselves and have to be treated accordingly. Wellhäuser warned: "You can never say that that worked the last time."

He acquired his talents for restoring books as a master book-binder and former head of the Tübingen University press.

Surprisingly 19th century books are the problem. Those several hundred years old are less so. Dr Gerd Brinkhus, chief librarian at Tübingen University said: "Paper made from rag pulp doesn't lose its strength after 600 years."

There is a technical reason why books from the 19th century are most prone to disintegrate. The replacement of the hand-press invented by Gutenberg by the high-speed printing machines at the beginning of the 19th century allowed book printers to increase their production enormously.

Paper factories could not find sufficient raw materials to be able to meet the demand. So they replaced the rags (fibres obtained from old clothes,) that had been used up to then in paper production, and bone glue with replacement materials, mainly wood and alum resin.

This spelled the beginning of trouble. The wood could only be processed into paper with the use of acid additives — and in time they destroyed the structure of the paper.

Today the first step the book restorer has to take to go about his work is to wash out and neutralise these corroding acids, page by page.

This is why at the very start the book *has to be completely taken apart.*

After measuring the hydrogen ion concentration in the pages (strength of the acidity) the individual pages are



placed with great care between sieve frames, washed in a water bath, de-acidified and finally protected from acids in the air with calcium carbonate.

What follows next is often very tricky. The pages or scraps of page that have become thin and torn are once more "treated."

Wellhäuser places the individual pages on the bottom of the sieve of the treatment equipment. He pours over them water mixed with fibre slurry.

The water passes through the open spaces in the sieve and is sucked below. The paper fibres are deposited in the spaces on the page — they fill up the holes exactly.

But this method is not always appropriate, for often the papers are too damaged. The old ink, made with gallic acid, erodes the paper. It was so strong that in many books there is only a hole in the paper where once there was a letter.

In these instances Wellhäuser makes use of a trick he knows — splitting the paper. It seems hardly possible but this method works with amazing success. Wellhäuser said: "It's great fun," and set about demonstrating his trick.

He placed the paper, which he had previously covered on both sides with gelatine glue and pasted on sturdy filter paper, between his knees and pulled slowly on the two overlapping edges of the support paper. The page pasted between the filter papers separated cleanly into the front and reverse side.

Wellhäuser then pasted a thin Japanese paper between the parted page layers to reinforce them.

A little later he ducked the whole in a solution at 45 degrees which dissolved *the enzymes of the gelatine* layer. The support paper can now be pulled away gently.

The enzymes are made harmless in another warm bath. The new book page is finished. Thanks to the paper that has been inserted into the sheet the page is substantially more robust.

Other restoration workshops use different methods in an attempt to find time-saving ways of restoring many books.

In Bückeburg in Lower Saxony book experts laminate the papers with a synthetic layer of film made of acrylate and lay them on brittle newsprint soaked in caustic soda so that the paper shrinks about 15 per cent.

This results in the fragile paper becoming once more soft so that it can be creased without any damage.

Other book resoration workshops are not so pernickety and simply paste on thin Japanese paper over the old, weakened page to reinforce it.

Wellhäuser does not think much of these methods. Gerd Brinkus said: "The ink acid remains in the paper when you stretch a layer of acrylate film over the page, and it should also be remembered that synthetics also age.

"When we restore we do it thoroughly and not just to postpone deterioration."

Wellhäuser agreed. He said: "I assume that our books will not deteriorate over the next 500 years. If you just paste something over the paper it can be guaranteed that in five years' time it will again begin to deteriorate."

In Tübingen chemicals are used sparingly and only to an extent that they can later be neutralised.

In this connection Wellhäuser tells of a manuscript that in 1966 was laminated with a self-adhesive layer of film, that went brown because of the synthetic softening agent it contained. It was also in danger of dissolving.

Book expert Professor Wächter from Vienna needed 500 hours to find a suitable solution for the synthetic layer he needed, and treated 250 pages with it millimetre by millimetre — an enormous task.

Restorers must not only treat the paper but also the rest of the book — *the* wooden book covers, leather binding, colouring and the stitching.

Tübingen also has palm-leaf manuscripts, the writing is on narrow stripes of palm-leaf that are bound one on top of another.

Pigskin is always pigskin. The restorer tries, as far as possible, to re-use the old leather parts.

Restorers keep to the original scheme of the book-binding usually, sometimes with simple, sometimes with double binding.

If a new wooden cover has to be prepared Wellhäuser uses playwood or in special cases pear-wood because these woods are sturdy.

Now and then book experts come upon scraps of paper when they dismantle

Continued on page 11

Readers wanted here but not everywhere

Librarians are suspected of loving their books more than the people who want to read them.

As is to be read in Umberto Eco's *The Name of the Rose* they defended their kingdom in the Middle Ages with poison and flames.

Better to burn books than that they should fall into the wrong hands.

Modern times have more subtle but just as effective means of keeping readers at a distance from libraries.

Eco recently drew up a list of these in his treatise *De Bibliotheca*. He spoke of false cataloguing, slack arrangements for loaning books, short library opening times and last but not least, no toilet facilities.

Anyone who uses libraries a lot knows of the long-suffering, suspicious and condescending looks of grim custodians who bring the foreign guest books as if it were an act of grace that he might consult them.

The senior librarian in the Federal Republic is quite different. Klaus-Dieter Lehmann, who has been director of the German Library in Frankfurt since May, has the sunburnt face and elegant clothes of a top manager. Expressions such as "customer assistance," "optimum service" and "friendliness to users" pass his lips.

This unsentimental, less aesthetic way of talking stems from the fact that Lehmann was originally a physicist and mathematician.

He is now 48. At 29 he turned to librarianship.

In 1978 he was appointed director of the Frankfurt municipal and university library. His "almost exotic career as a librarian" predestined him for the major

Gets riled about censorship ... Lehmann. (Photo: Wolfgang Haut)

task of cataloguing the library's 3.4 million volumes on computer and setting up a new lending system that was "more friendly to users."

Lehmann has just as considerable a task facing him at the German Library. Since 1945 the library has collected and has available all German-language books, translations from German and literature dealing with German language and affairs.

Every year another 100,000 volumes are added to the four million already in the library. Weekly indexes provide information about new publications.

Recently spoken works in other media have taken on an increasing importance, viewdata, videos and magnetic tapes.

Lehmann is also concerned with making technical improvements as regards security, recording and making available everything printed and said in the German language that add up in their entirety to an "objective journal" of the German nation.

In a few years' time the German Library will move to a new building, that should provide enough space for many years to come.

For the considerable organisation this move entails a cheerful and energetic man is required and one is quickly aware that Lehmann, who seems at first to be a little technocratic, is the right man.

He regards free access to the written and spoken word as a part of intellectual freedom in a democratic society.

Lehmann, who is generally unruffled, becomes animated when he says how disturbed he is of anything that smacks of censorship.

He has in his charge four million books. He was asked what he himself read.

He spoke of his reading in connection with his present job and historical research on the Frankfurt library. Lehmann, who has the key to all the library's store-rooms, did not give away who were his favourite writers, however.

Gustav Selbt

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 27 May 1988)

■ EXHIBITIONS

At the end of acres of turnips the glories of Ancient Egypt

DIE ZEIT

Arne Eggebrecht, director of the Roemer-Pelizaeus Museum in Hildesheim, takes the view that the whole of Europe is addicted to Ancient Egypt.

He said: "Perhaps it has become the most attractive sophisticated culture of the Ancient World because this world does not seem to know anxiety and horror.

"There is today a great longing for a world where anxiety and horror did not seem to exist."

Why is it always Hildesheim when an exhibition is going on a tour taking in Cairo, New York, Hildesheim and London?

How is it that Hildesheim can get hold of exhibition items that normally one would have to travel halfway round the world to see?

The fragments of three heads from Ancient Egypt were separated from one another for a long time, for 3,000 years in fact.

Bringing them together was an event of world significance and that happened at Hildesheim. Egyptologist Eggebrecht, 51, can be content with what he achieved.

The first major show to be put on while he has been director, the Echnaton Exhibition in 1976, was obtained through his personal contacts.

Anyone who wants to put on an exhibition of the Ancient World in Europe with expectations of success calls in at Hildesheim first.

The museum has become renowned for the quality of the exhibitions it has mounted. The next five years are booked out.

The man whom Eggebrecht attracted to Hildesheim from Munich is on the floor above him in the Hildesheim Museum. He is 155 centimetres tall, no longer young, astonishingly popular and made of bright limestone.

Explaining this attraction Eggebrecht said: "The seated portrait of the Vizir Hem-iunu is one of the most important figures from Ancient Egypt — like the letter-writer in the Louvre, the Nefertiti head in Berlin and the village mayor in Cairo." His report on him was only distributed to university circles.

Eggebrecht has been excited enormously by bringing this marvellous work of art out of the shadows.

He has been equally excited in bringing before the public the collection of the Hildesheim collector-businessman Wilhelm Pelizaeus, which according to expert opinion is one of the ten most important collections outside Egypt.

Eggebrecht said: "Hem-iunu controlled the building of the Cheops Pyramid at Giza. He was closely connected with the origins of this wonder of the world."

He is particularly eager to present the history of this statute so that visitors get an insight into this key personality in the civilisation of Ancient Egypt. From the very beginning he had no thought of presenting art history pure and simple.

Eggebrecht is particularly concerned at presenting the head in a way that makes it easy for the public to make contact with the object and which corresponds to the modern way of seeing things.

He offers a lot without over-doing it and information prepared in such a way that it does not seem to be tiresomely educational.

But to make every visit to a museum an exciting and delightful event calls for an obsession with detail, even at points where one is unaware of this.

Eva Eggebrecht, Arne's wife, also an Egyptologist and his assistant, said: "When we go to a museum we first look at the lighting and then whether the floor will be hard on the feet."

Eggebrecht said: "Objects are my passion. It has always fascinated me, like an adventure, to come into contact with real life through them."

For this reason he changed from studying art history and archaeology to Egyptology, that includes linguistic, cultural and historical research.

He says he wants to share his passion with others, building up layer by layer of treasures in the museum. He wants to keep the protective and conservation element to a minimum to the benefit of "deciphering the objects for the public." He could have just kept his enthusiasm to himself.

Hildesheim has a romanesque basilica, a world famous cathedral, a thousand-year-old rose tree, acres of turnips stretching way up to Hanover, a great past and is too small for a man, who wants "to make as many people as possible understand ancient cultures as phenomena and examples of human potentialities."

It is impossible to make a name by just appealing to the educated classes who pass through. And who would set off to Hildesheim just for Hem-iunu?

How Eggebrecht developed a plan from these questions is an interesting story in a period of economic calamities and the first example of cultural management in the museum sector in the Federal Republic.

Our interview on this was repeatedly interrupted. Firstly there was the canteen manager and then forms from job-creation officials had to be filled up.

Then a woman art dealer wanted an expert opinion and the magazine *Capital* wanted to know if a fake work of art was about to be auctioned in London.

One thing is certain: he does everything possible to publicise his museum. He is not the kind to put his museum in the background and dissociate himself from his public.



Ancient Egypt cannot be understood in terms of time, so it retains its magnetism, says Arne Eggebrecht. (Photo: Thomas Weski/NOVUM)

The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* spoke of the "Hildesheim Effect." It has its being through one person, his personality and his commitment.

While in other museums there is considerable complaint about budget cutbacks, the Roemer-Pelizaeus Museum has a budget as large as that for a small village.

The 650 friends of the museum, most of them private individuals, provide DM1.2 million. They have a set membership fee of DM120 annually. Many give more. The funds are supervised by Eva and Arne.

To create the right public for Hem-iunu and the other items in the museum, Eggebrecht has shown qualities in Hildesheim that would make many smart managers green with envy.

The plan for special exhibitions originated "through the pressure of an understanding of local conditions."

The minute Hildesheim team was the first in the Federal Republic that was able to attract visitors to the museum from far afield in a very professional way.

This was done with the aid of an advertising agency, with posters all over the place from Amsterdam to Zürich, with wide-ranging cooperation with the press and links with other tourist arrangements.

In the midst of all this city officials had to be convinced. It was all a little too much for them.

A sign of the optimism and sense of competence he radiates is shown by the fact that Eggebrecht was able to induce them, to their credit, to shoulder the financial risk and to provide insurance premiums, for instance, of DM300,000.

The alliance has been worth it for Hildesheim. The special exhibitions are being put on without subsidy and every season they attract between 150,000 and 200,000 people to the city, where they eat, drink, buy petrol and stay the night.

There is a permanent public that guarantees that every visitor leaves the museum happy and full of impressions. Enthusiasm has to be infectious among the crowds that come to Hildesheim. Cultural events call for themes today that are of wide interest.

The "Gold of the Thracians" exhibition, for example, and the art treasures from ancient Nigeria, were not successful. The drug of Ancient Egypt has a more certain effect.

Eggebrecht said: "The Ancient Egyptians are mythical, they have an emotional appeal. From distant time the pharaohs have indeed remained real to us in a physical sense. The epoch cannot be understood in time terms and so has remained magnetic and rewarding."

Talking to Eggebrecht is like being attracted by the Pied Piper of Hamelin. Wherever he goes and wherever he is listeners gather round him.

In between research commissions he has often been an accompanying lecturer on study tours of Egypt. Smiling he said: "Since I began doing that I have learned that I can keep people's attention."

Eggebrecht greeted a professor from Cairo University who is the chief restorer of the Sphinx at Giza. He wanted to see the royal heads that have been brought together in Hildesheim.

The world of Egyptology is small. The twenty to thirty people who devote themselves to the fragile treasures from the Nile Delta know one another well.

They also know the man who is the link between European and American museums and Egypt itself. He knows how to solve problems and care for an infinite legacy from Ancient Egypt.

Eggebrecht is the contact man who can bring to bear a lot of technical and financial assistance.

In such quarters proposals do not pass from museum to museum; only through personal contacts.

Eggebrecht has been entrusted personally with the items in the special Hildesheim exhibitions, which have given the city its reputation. They have come from New York, Turin, Boston and East Berlin.

Draft poster designs are already being considered for the next exhibition, about the Scythians.

Ulla Plog

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 17 June 1988)

Continued from page 10

a book which had been used as "stuffing" by the original binder.

These scraps of paper, that were once regarded as unimportant, are now of special significance because they are unique and can give researchers into book production valuable scraps of information.

Some years ago Wellhäuser found a dozen or so scraps of parchment from which a document could be reconstructed, giving information about the origins of the volume.

Professor Brinkus was asked why these books were restored at considerable expense and not just simply put on micro-film. This course of action is also applied since many academics only want to know what is in the books.

He replied: "We need these old volumes so as to be able to explain interconnections — for instance the movement of books between monastery libraries."

A small blot of sealing wax can indicate in which monastery the book was produced.

Brinkus said book restoration can also be risky. He quoted an incident in America in which the paper acids were neutralised by a diethylamine gas. There were two explosions.

Thomas Neuschwander

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 4 June 1988)

■ EDUCATION

Foreign students all over Europe sue to end tuition-fee discrimination



In a wave of educational litigation that is sweeping Europe a French woman student has taken her application for a German student grant to a Hanover court.

In Edinburgh a student with dual, British and French nationality is engaged in a legal battle for a Scottish university grant.

In Neufchateau, Belgium, the Belgian authorities are suing a schoolboy's parents for school fees; the parents are French citizens and live in Luxembourg.

An Italian student has taken his cause for a Belgian student grant to the Council of State, while in the neighbouring Netherlands the son of a German European Community official is suing for a Dutch student grant.

There are many other examples. All involve young people who have switched countries during their education.

It might be thought that in this day and age in Europe, this sort of international experience would be encouraged. But as soon as students put European rights to the test, even countries that are generally considered pro-European often don't want to know.

The authorities come up with absurd theories to justify the unjustifiable. It is hardly surprising that two cheers for Europe is the best the public can manage.

The wave of litigation was triggered by a French woman student of comic strips at the Belgian Royal Academy of Fine Arts.

For the 1982-83 and 1983-84 academic years she was charged a special fee for foreign students known as Minerval.

She refused to pay, arguing that Minerval was in breach of European Community law, which prohibits discrimination on grounds of nationality within the Community.

Belgium felt the special fee was not discriminatory. It was the contribution foreign students made toward financing education facilities otherwise maintained by Belgian citizens via national taxation.

Besides, education policy was a national concern for which member-states were individually and solely responsible.

No citizen of a member-country had a binding legal entitlement to study in another European Community country, let alone to attend study courses on the same terms as nationals of the country in question.

Maybe the Belgian Education Minister did not want to take seriously a European Community action programme he himself had approved in principle in 1980. It envisaged course fees for students from other member-countries being no higher than the fees local students were required to pay.

Maybe he had failed to notice that the European Parliament had called on Belgium in 1982 to "waive all discriminatory measures in connection with matriculation fees in the education system."

But he was unable to ignore the February 1985 ruling by the European Court of Justice.

The court had ruled in 1974 that "education policy may not, as such, be an issue for which organs of the Community are responsible by the terms of the Treaty (of Rome), but it does not follow therefrom that the exercise of powers vested in the Community are restricted in any way when they may affect measures relating, say, to the implementation of education policy."

This was followed in 1982 by a ruling prohibiting discrimination where a foreign national of an EEC country was required to pay fees that nationals of the host country were not required to pay.

In its February 1985 ruling the court unequivocally stated that: "A charge, matriculation or study fee for participation in vocational training courses constitutes a breach of Article 7 of the Treaty of Rome, which prohibits discimination on grounds of nationality, when it is payable by students from other member-countries but not by local students."

The crux of this ruling lies in the definition of vocational training. The more comprehensive the definition, the greater the Community's potential influence in this sector and the more limited the sovereign rights of member-countries.

By the terms of the ruling vocational training is "any kind of training in preparation for qualifications in respect of a specific trade or profession or a specific employment or providing special qualifications for the exercise of such a trade or profession."

This definition is said to apply "regardless of the age or level of education of the students and even if the curriculum also includes general education."

The court had no doubt that a course of study on comic strips at a college of fine arts was to be classified as vocational training.

As soon as this ruling was given, large numbers of students who had been charged Minerval fees in Belgium demanded a refund.

Substantial amounts of money were at stake. In the non-university sector alone about 500 million Belgian francs had been levied between 1981 and 1983, the Education Ministry said.

Between 1976 and 1984 Minerval fees charged at Belgian universities had totalled roughly 5.5bn francs.

Instead of refunding the illegal fees the Belgian National Assembly enacted legislation designed to rule out refunds in June 1985. Belgian courts to which foreign students had appealed felt the Act might well be a further breach of European Community law.

In February 1988 the European Court of Justice ruled that the Act was invalid because it deprived the people affected of their European rights.

The 1988 ruling is the first to consider whether university studies count as vocational training. In view of the earlier definition it is no surprise to learn that it does.

Only in exceptional cases does a course of university study not serve to prepare for access to a profession. Besides, all member-countries are signatories of the Council of Europe's social charter, which expressly classifies university education as part of vocational training.

Belgium does not seem prepared to learn its lesson from these rulings by the highest European court. A large number of court cases are still pending in which courses of study are said not to constitute vocational training and thus to be subject to special fees being levied from foreign students.

The authorities are clearly counting on foreign students not being prepared to take their cases to court. They are still trying to levy illegal fees.

All students knew that these fees were levied, the Belgian counsel told the European Court of Justice. So they need not feel they were being unfairly treated.

The consequences of the European Court rulings are not limited to Belgium. In a 1985 case Britain and Denmark pointed out that the ban on discrimination in access to educational facilities within the European Community must logically apply to scholarships and grants and to other welfare provisions and their effect on the cost of education.

Court rulings have so far been limited to access to courses of study and make no reference to scholarships or welfare provisions during a course of study. But they too must be clarified in connection with the cases mentioned in the opening paragraphs of this article.

Posers

Does the Federal Republic of Germany face an influx of students from other European Community countries? It currently ranks No. 2, with over 18,000 students from other member-countries. Only France has more.

And if there is to be no discrimination against students from other Community countries, what is to be done about courses where access is restricted because demand exceeds capacity?

What, for that matter, is to become of university self-government in connection with the admission of foreign students?

It is high time to prepare for surprising developments in this connection. The European Community may come into effect in the education sector sooner than some would prefer.

Oskar Graf

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 3 June 1988)

Ulrich discovers international flavour to law studies

The writer of this article, Professor Michael Martinek, teaches civil and commercial law, comparative legal studies and international private law at Saarbrücken University.

Ulrich is a 24-year-old student from Düsseldorf reading law in his eighth semester at Saarbrücken. He hopes to practise law in his home town after graduating.

He was hesitant about studying law. He loves travel and is keenly interested in the languages and cultures of neighbouring countries.

They interest him no less than his interest in the law, in justice, order and peace.

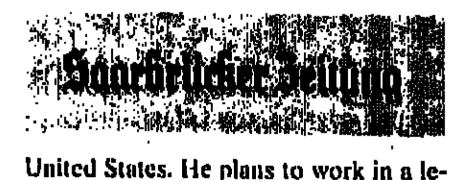
Many friends had warned him: "If you read law you will only be able to work in Germany. German law only applies in Germany. Engineers, doctors and economists have a much wider scope."

To Ulrich's delight, studying law has been entirely different. In his first semester at Saarbrücken he learnt about the law faculty's wide-ranging international ties, cooperation agreements with universities in other countries and, in particular, student exchange programmes.

After his fifth semester, which he ended by passing intermediate diploma examinations, he applied for a course as an exchange student and spent the winter semester in Nancy improving his French and studying the French legal system. He says: "It was a fascinating experience."

A year later he took part in an exchange scheme with Exeter University in south-western England, spending two months studying English law.

He now hopes, after passing his initial degree next year, to spend a year in the



United States. He plans to work in a legal practice with international commercial clients.

He says: "Law is only really fun when it is international."

His father, a law graduate and civil servant in Düsseldorf, was unable to face his university years with such a wide range of international experience 30 years ago.

Son Ulrich is nowadays by no means exceptional. At Saarbrücken more and more law students are taking advantage of the flourishing exchange schemes with Nancy and Exeter, especially now the European Community is generously providing mobility grants.

A growing number of law students from Nancy and Exeter are spending a semester or two at Saarbrücken and making German students consider the idea of studying abroad.

Law students are increasingly coming to appreciate that law graduates today stand a far better chance of getting on in legal practice, in the civil service, in business or in the administration of justice if they have international experience.

The law faculty is keen to encourage them and to promote the trend. In addition to special courses in European integration and French law, time spent abroad is encouraged as part of "ordinary" legal studies.

Graduation need not take longer; most semesters spent studying law abroad count toward the Saarbrücken course.

Ulrich's sister Monika, 20, plans to study law in Saarbrücken this autumn. She may take part in the integrated course of studies agreed by the Saarbrücken, Lille and Warwick law fa-

Continued on page 13

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Report says plutonium lethal at any level; slams methods of setting 'safe limits'

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Atomic energy is more dangerous than was originally assumed, says a Marburg radiologist. Any exposure to radiation, no matter how small, is dangerous. Plutonium in particular is unsafe in any dosage.

The Social Democrats in the Bonn Bundestag have referred his findings to the Federal Constitutional Court in a bid to have the Atomic Energy Act ruled unconstitutional.

Horst Kuni is professor of clinical and experimental nuclear medicine at Marburg University medical radiology centre. He is the author of a comprehensive survey entitled The Danger of Radiation Damage from Plutonium.

There was originally believed to be a threshold below which exposure to radiation did no damage.

The International Commission for Radiological Protection now says there is a *linear* link between the dosage and effect of radiation, no matter how minute the amount.

So radiation exposure ceilings used at nuclear installations, even assuming they are observed, can merely limit the damage and not rule out the health hazard.

The degree and extent of radiation damage may not depend on the dosage, but the higher the dosage, the likelier it is to occur.

Professor Kuni's report lists the latest findings as follows:

- "Nuclear fuel reprocessing facilities release a much larger quantity of radioactive substances than atomic power stations in normal operation."
- Experience in handling plutonium has shown that "even planned and technically controlled release of plutonium in reprocessing is inevitably linked with its release into the biosphere, endangering not only people exposed to radiation in their professional capacity but also third parties."
- "Even if emission by plutonium installations is below the statutory limit it is not only a health hazard, as science now sees it, but likely to be injurious to health, for the most part with fatal consequences."
- "Experience so far with reprocessing plant shows accidents to be a characteristic accompaniment of normal operation."

The crucial factor in the undue public health hazard posed by atomic energy is that plutonium is added to standard nuclear fuel rods then known as mixed-oxide, or mox, elements.

The plutonium used is reprocessed. The more often spent fuel rods are reprocessed, the lower the percentage of fissile plutonium they contain and the more plutonium has to be added to mox elements by way of compensation.

On balance, Professor Kuni says, "plutonium activity increases out of all proportion."

As a result of the higher plutonium content with each successive reprocessing americium and curium are produced in increasing quantities.

Americium and curium are alpha isotopes with properties similar to those of plutonium.

"When they are released in the initial *stage of reprocessing*," he writes, "the health hazard posed by plutonium isotopes increases three- or fourfold after three cycles.

"That of americium and curium isotopes increases four- to sixteenfold, with the result that they assume much greater importance than plutonium."

If the cooling-off period for spent fuel rods is to be reduced from at least seven years to one year, as he says is planned by the nuclear power industry, "the danger posed by fissile products" will be "increased by an enormous extent."

An equivalent dose is specified to compare the effect of the various kinds of radioactivity (alpha, beta, gamma and neutron radiation).

The so-called quality factor is determined on the basis of a political decision. The Bonn government issues guidelines and general assessment criteria as it sees fit.

It does so on grounds of political expediency.

"Both the dosage concept in general and the assessment criteria for individual radionuclides have long been known no longer to be up to the latest scientific standards."

The very definition and specification of standards such as "equivalent dose" and "quality factor" are said to include "valuations that, without express legal authority, are made by scientists and can hardly be recognised as such by non-experts in the guidelines as issued."

In the process, Professor Kuni writes, "original limitations to the range of application (are) overlooked."

Numerous research findings, he says, "have revealed for alpha radiation as emitted by plutonium and for neutron radiation, which is particularly important in handling mox fuel elements, a relative biological efficacy that, depending on dosage, substantially exceeds the quality factor laid down in radiation protection regulations and used to convert physical into equivalent dose."

Professor Kuni, reviewing current scientific knowledge on the subject, says ceilings are far too high. Yet "when an individual who does not come into contact with plutonium as part of his job is found to be contaminated his contamination level will be 10 to 100 times the present limits."

People who come into contact with plutonium at work are so inaccurately checked "that contamination will only be spotted in favourable circumstances before the present limits are reached.

"Once the ceilings are lowered, which is long overdue, working with plutonium will no longer be possible by current standards of labour safety."

Working with plutonium can have the most macabre aspects. A one-off exposure to more than the current annual limit may, in cases where plutonium has accumulated in the body for years without exposure exceeding the annual limit, lead to the person affected no longer being entitled to a normal burial.

"Instead," Professor Kuni writes, "a lifelong check must be kept on his whereabouts to ensure that his corpse is given the requisite special treatment."

The limit needs to be reduced tenfold, he says, and even then women will continue to be in greater danger than men.

"Mothers Against Atomic Energy" and similar campaigns thus have scientific justification. Ceilings are set on the basis of absurd averages and heedless of individual considerations, such as the fact that breast cancer virtually affects women only.

If a cancer can be cured, by removing a breast, the limits are increased because breast cancer is no longer considered to be lethal.

So the more progress medicine makes, the higher the level of radiation exposure that is permitted by way of "compensation."

Even if satisfactory limits were to be set, the term "residual risk" would not mean there was no risk if limits were observed.

The residual risk will invariably spell illness or death for someone once the collective dosage has reached the level in question. The risk is that no-one knows who will be the victim or when.

"Can normal operation be permitted," he asks, "when no precautions can be taken against an unplanned-for contingency?

"Is accident management planning acceptable when instead of aiming at reducing risks to the minimum it presupposes a minimum level of damage before radiation protection measures are foreseen?"

Is the plutonium industry, which makes no economic sense, really permissible in the circumstances? That is now for the Federal Constitutional Court to decide.

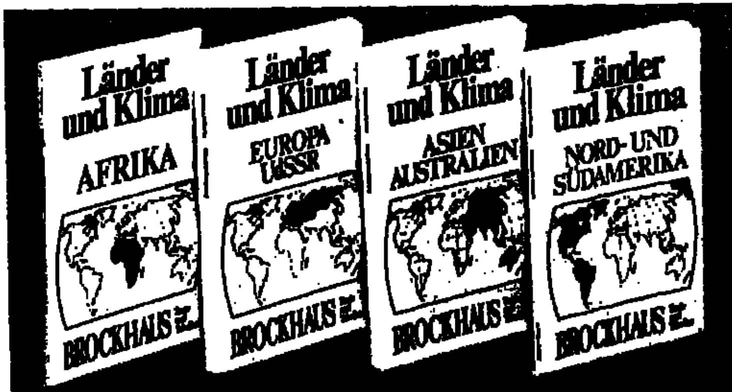
Kuni quotes a Marburg theologian, W. Härle, who has compared the operation of nuclear installations with a reversion to pre-Christian times when civilisations sought to appease the gods by human sacrifice (especially that of virgins).

The only progress present-day civilisation would seem to have made is to base the choice of victims on the stochastic, or random, principle.

Martin Urban

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 16 June 1988)

Meteorological stations all over the world



supplied the data arranged in see-at-a-glance tables in these new reference works. They include details of air and water temperature, precipitation, humidity, sunshine, physical stress of climate, wind conditions and frequency of thunderstorms.

These figures compiled over the years are invaluable both for planning journeys to distant countries and for scientific research.

Basic facts and figures for every country in the world form a preface to the tables. The emphasis is on the country's natural statistics, on climate, population, trade and transport.

The guides are handy in size and flexibly bound, indispensable for daily use in commerce, industry and the travel trade.

Four volumes are available:

North and South America, 172 pp., DM 24.80;
Asia/Australia, 240 pp., DM 24.80;
Africa, 130 pp., DM 24.80;
Europe/USSR, 240 pp., DM 24.80

Look it up in Brockhaus

F. A. Brockhaus, Postfach 1709; D-6200 Wiesbaden 1

Continued from page 12

culties that is due to start at the end of 1989.

It is the first three-country agreement of its kind, and German students will spent a semester each in Lille and Warwick.

They may soon be able to spend one or more semesters in Ann Arbor or Tokyo — as part of their ordinary course in legal studies at Saarbrücken.

Saarbrücken has a countrywide reputation as first choice for law students keen to gain experience abroad. Bernhard Wax spends much time and hard work managing the exchange schemes.

His motto is: "The dry, old legal studies of yesteryear are dead. Long live the Justice International!"

Michael Martinek

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 30 May 1988)

■ FRONTIERS

On the road with a copy of the tramp's own paper

A bi-monthly newspaper produced by people who themselves have lived on the road is aimed at helping both tramps and the people from government authorities who deal with them. *Berber-Brief* (Berber is German slang for tramp) is run off on a duplicating machine at a village east of Munich although, like its staff, it has been of no fixed abode until now. Most of the articles are written by hand and most of the readers (circulation is a little over a thousand) are middle-class people who work in advisory centres or for citizens' initiatives. Editor-in-chief Hans Klunkelfuss started the paper in angry reaction to confrontation with people behind desks. It began as a leaflet. The first edition had one page. That has increased to 20. This story was written for *Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt* by Rainer Woratschka.

Peter Gotthardt has been an editor of *Berber-Brief* (Tramps Letter) for a year. He and his colleagues have one quality with in common with the paper: they are all drifters.

The paper has been run off on photocopying machines at various shops and distributed by contacts in many parts of Germany. But now, they have acquired a small stencilling machine and appear to have found a permanent address for the newsroom: Mühldorf am Inn, Bavaria.

Every two months the staff have to raise the publishing costs of between 500 marks and 600 marks by begging.

The address is confidently proc-



Bridging a gap.

laimed at the top of page one. It could change again, but the outlook is settled.

A year ago, editor-in-chief and founder Hans Klunkelfuss settled in Mühldorf am Inn, east of Munich, with his wife, bringing the paper with him.

Gotthardt: "It looks as if he has found a permanent home." His cheerful cynicism disappeared as quickly as it came. He said: "Klunkelfuss was nine and a half years on the road. You do not go through that without it having had its effect on you."

The paper's readers notice straight away that "the paper does not come from the social worker mob."

The references to reality are too direct and unadorned, the statements too provocative, the language too direct.

In the last issue Klunkelfuss announced: "All politicians are drunks." He was trying to expose the prejudices against "drunken bums" and trigger off a discussion on the poverty and alcoholism of his "companions."

He said: "We don't solve our problems with a beer bottle in our hands. Showing why alcohol plays a role in our lives can be a first step on the fight against it."

They justify their self-confidence even if they are begging on the streets and applying for the social benefits that the state guarantees.

On the second page, a staff member called Hannes Grossmaul (Grossmaul means big mouth in German) writes: "I don't see why we should go hungry just to satisfy an official's sense of tidiness.

"It is one of the realities of poverty today that by sit on the pavement begging, we upset the affluent image some cities have of themselves."

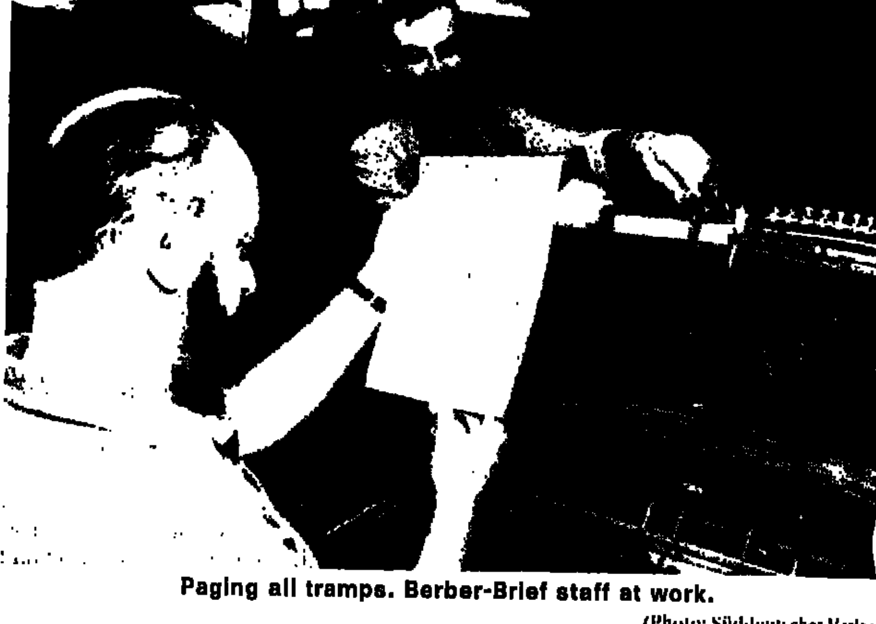
Time and time again the articles, more often than not written by hand, take up matters that are urgent for the more than 100,000 homeless in Germany.

The paper puts to the test official overnight sleeping facilities and also readers report on whether, in a certain town, tramps can get a cash handout or just a bowl of thin gruel.

Some officials are criticised for being impolite; others because they move tramps from park benches.

The paper also includes poems expressing experiences of daily life "on the road."

One writes about the sense of solidarity, another tells of small insights he has



Paging all tramps. Berber-Brief staff at work.

(Photo: Süddeutscher Verlag)

had. They express what all the authors hope for: "That perhaps there will be a little more undestanding of our situation."

Many readers come from the middle classes, mostly people involved in advisory centres or citizens' initiatives.

Germany's society for helping the homeless often refers to the columns of the *Berber-Brief*.

Society chairman Heinrich Holtmannspötter said: "The paper is instructive, particularly for people who make decisions, people who sit behind a desk and have no practical experience."

The paper originated from confrontation with the people who sit "behind desks." It began with a fierce leaflet that Hans Klunkelfuss produced in Wetzlar against the practice of the social services office there of handing out food coupons instead of cash that the law says should be handed out.

Gotthardt said: "Tramps had to be told that we must make our rights public."

Klunkelfuss was successful on two counts: Wetzlar officials now pay out the usual DM13 a day to the homeless and he has established a mouthpiece that by its scope is a long way from the original leaflet.

Obviously the staff are enthusiastic. They have plenty of time during the day to write articles. Gotthardt rejects the officialese description of for the homeless as "persons of no fixed abode."

Instead, he draws a comparison between them and the proud and aggressive nomads of the desert, "the Berbers." But he says that the risk is that this will give the impression that tramps have chosen this way of life.

Fundamentally the tramps do not want better conditions for tramps but to get out of tramping for good.

Klunkelfuss, who is a qualified printer and type-setter, knows that this sort of goal cannot be achieved by the news-

Continued on page 15

Skid row no longer a male preserve

The 35-metre high Bismarck Monument at the top of Hamburg's Reeperbahn is a tourist attraction, but the statue and its surrounding park is a traditional congregation point for the city's poor.

They are called the people "of no fixed abode," the homeless or perhaps tramps, drunks or bums.

There a million people in the Federal Republic who have living accommodation problems, 700,000 in homes that are below acceptable standards. 200,000 in emergency accommodation and 100,000 homeless, who sleep in derelict houses, in parks or who look for a place to doss down under bridges.

Until quite recently it was only men without a roof over their heads in the country's major cities. But since 1987, the UN Year of the Homeless, voluntary organisations have been concerned at the increasing number of women among the homeless.

The national association to help the homeless estimates that there are 10,000 women living on the streets "as a result of extreme poverty and a lack of the means of supporting themselves." There are 1,000 in Berlin alone.

Hamburg's office for the homeless, a department of the city's social services, recorded 5,794 women as having accommodation problems in 1986. Last year there were 7,237 in extreme accommodation difficulties.

The problem has come to a head in other cities as well. It is hard to say if these figures are representative for there are no standard statistics for the homeless and people of no fixed abode in the Federal Republic.

What is certain is that three million people live off social assistance, two million of them women. Two young women were talking in a pub in St Pauli, Hamburg's red-light district. One of them worked eight hours behind a bar for DM40: the other was looking through the vacancies columns of a paper.

Neither had a home. They found shelter with their acquaintances. They knew their way around. One said: "There are many women who have nowhere to live, but they don't admit it."

Unemployment, social isolation, physical or mental suffering can end up for men and woman being homeless if the mesh of the social services net is too wide.

Heinrich Holtmannspötter, chairman of the Federal Republic's society for helping the homeless, said that many women in the depths of poverty suffer in addition from "violence from an individual male, for instance sexual abuse, rape or physical ill-treatment."

Karl Stengler, head of the department dealing with the homeless in Hamburg's social services department, joins Holtmannspötter in his view that there is a considerable number of unreported cases involving women.

He said that they attract less attention than men, whose poverty is obvious through their begging and congregating in public places.

Experts are of the view that women are more modest. They put up a struggle to get by before they turn to public services for help.

Some look for "protectors" in the red-light district. One woman said: "Sometimes all you are offered is a glass of schnaps and if you don't *perform* you are thrown out."

According to the Federal Republic's social legislation anyone who does not have a home "should be helped to overcome, to cope with, to mollify the difficulties ... and also be helped to *find* and maintain a home."

No-one disputes in principle that everything should be done to re-*integrate* people into society. But *in practice* things are different.

Various areas of responsibility among officials and a tangle of regulations, "quickly become a barrier that people without money and a home cannot overcome," according to the society for helping the homeless.

Many hostels for the homeless only provide a roof over people's heads and there is a lack of trained personnel.

In one home for women there were 106 inmates, many living there for just a day or a month, many for years.

Margit, 50, has been living in one home for ten years. Occasionally she gets a job as a charwoman or kitchen help — for a couple of mouths. She said: "Sometimes I've thought that I should pack it all in."

Many women are in despair. Some escape into alcohol or drugs. In the past few years more and more have come directly from the psychiatric wards of a hospital into a hostel. *dpa*

(Mannheimer Morgen, 28 May 1988)

■ HORIZONS

Bid to promote the highly intelligent child

General-Anzeiger

Albert Einstein was a poor scholar. His teachers predicted that he would have a mediocre career.

What happened to the discoverer of the theory of relativity happens still to a minority of schoolboys and girls.

They are the highly-gifted who do not fit easily into the normal education concept. Many of them end up failures despite their extraordinary intelligence.

Many super clever do not regard their gift as a blessing. The normal education system is not geared to schoolboys and girls with an IQ of 130. The average IQ is 100.

The consequence is that these high-flyers quickly become outsiders or shut off during lessons because they are bored.

Teachers and parents do not feel comfortable with many of them, because their thirst for knowledge is tiresome. Others disturb lessons, are not moved up to a higher class and show off.

Every highly-gifted pupil has an individual school career which is very dependent on whether parents and teachers come up to the pupil's intellectual requirements.

Many of these high-flyers are threatened with being sent to special schools, many are not moved into a higher class.

Parents and teachers have become more aware of the problem over the past few years. But there is a difference of opinion as to whether the highly-gifted should be sent to a school especially set up for them or that they should be integrated into the normal school system.

There is a high school for pupils who are particularly gifted, the private Christopherusschule in Brunswick, set up by the Christliches Jugenddorfwerk Deutschlands, a Church orphans and education organisation. The school provides special instruction at advanced levels with boarding school facilities attached.

The pupils are taught about aviation and space technology, astronomy and basic questions of philosophy.

They have 40 study projects they can chose to participate in during the afternoons.

The teachers are especially trained, because these pupils need more attention and personal guidance than other pupils.

Applicants for the Brunswick school have to do examinations and oral tests over a period of two weeks.

They are tested for their speed of learning, social behaviour, powers of concentration, flexibility, aptitude for abstract thought and application to work. The IQ test is not in itself decisive.

The Brunswick school costs about DM1,000 a month. Parents who cannot afford this fee are given financial assistance by the Church organisation. State aid is not available.

Supported by the Bonn Education Ministry an advisory centre for parents has been set up in Hamburg on the initiative of the German Society for Highly-Gifted Children.

Hamburg University's Institute for Psychology has also concerned itself with highly-gifted children for many years.

Harald Wagner from Hamburg University said: "These children have the same right to special care as educationally handicapped children usually are given."

It is no solution to allow these schoolboys and girls to skip one or more classes, because their maturity has not developed to a corresponding extent. More often than not they are late developers.

Help for girls

The Society for the Highly-gifted Child, a private organisation made up of about 450 parents, offers subsidiary school courses in several large cities.

The Hamburg-based Foundation for German Science, that is also concerned with the requirements of highly-gifted pupils, will in future also give support to highly-gifted girls.

The Foundation has recently offered university grants to girls who have passed the Abitur, the university entrance examination, and who want to study the natural sciences or engineering. *Karin Neumann*

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 11 June 1988)

Continued from page 14

paper. The "editors," all of them on the road [illegible] they did not have to finance their publication by sitting longer hours on the pavement begging.

They have now set about establishing a Berber Press to get away from social workers and to show, "that tramps can also get something off the ground." Anyone who knows the *Berber-Brief* realises that it is above advertising handouts and leaflets. The publishing house "of no fixed abode" has already produced a modest volume of poetry and a longer volume of tales of experience from one homeless author.

Now something more solid is planned: a Berber cookbook and — for non-tramps — a dictionary of tramp language. *Rainer Woratschka*

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 17 June 1988)

Bundestag group for children runs into some heavy flak

Four members of the Bundestag commission for children have already run into crossfires of controversy although they were only appointed in August last year.

The all-party commission proposed that another group be set up with its own secretariat with powers to examnine such things as legislation affecting children.

The "Group of Four," as other MPs call it with just the merest twinkle in their eyes, comprises Waltraud Schoppe (Greens), Norbert Eimer (FDP), Wilhelm Schmidt (SPD) and Herbert Werner (CDU).

The row developed to such an extent that the four even threatened to resign at one stage.

The Group of Four has the strong support of Bundestag Speaker Philipp Jenninger (CDU).

But when he presented their document to the Ältestenrat (the all-party procedural standing committee in the Bundestag) in April it created a sensation and came under a lot of fire throughout the country.

It wanted a commission with its own secretariat to examine legislation concerning children, set in motion its own initiatives, make contacts with children's organisations and be the spokesman on children's affairs.

The Ältestenrat opposed the proposed methods of tackling their tasks. The chairmanship of the commission was to be taken in turns by members. They would act "only in conjunction," but the Bundestag's standing orders did not permit this.

Only after the threatened resignation of the four members of parliament from the commission did the Ältestenrat, at a further sitting at the beginning of May, agree to suggstions made by Jenninger. A joint secretariat is now being set up.

These comings and goings created many headlines and gave to the four a degree of fame. Piles of post from children, currently about 25 letters a day, have been the result.

Most of the letters begin very formally: "Dear Children's Commissioners." Then the text becomes more relaxed.

A whole class in Bavaria wrote: "We have read in the newspapers about the disputes you have been involved in." Then they asked: "Which task for the benefit of children have you fulfilled so far?"

The four commissioners have only a general reply to such a general question.

They found it easier to deal with a proposal that appeared in many letters: "What do you think of the idea of a children's commissioner in the Bundestag directly elected by children?"

Herbert Werner said that he thought this suggestion was good in principle but that it was "not possible because of the country's electoral legislation." Only people over 18 can vote.

Werner saw positive effects in questioning of this kind, even if the writers of letters representing whole classes were egged on by teachers.

He said that in this way children would learn at an early stage the principles of democracy. Many children are already well acquainted with the evasive quality of political pronouncements.

One young man wrote with an apparently surprising breadth of knowledge: "P.S. Please give me a concrete answer to my question and answer personally, not through a secretary. (Please sign the letter.)"

There was no need to ask. The Group of Four intend to answer every letter no matter how unusual it may be.

One little girl with an awareness of citizens' rights wrote: "As a child of the Federal Republic I want more bicycle paths for children. I live in Essen and there is a lack of bicycle paths here."

There are several points that regularly crop up: "Clean playing grounds where dogs cannot do their business"; "more swimming baths that are not so expensive"; or even "one or two cross-country bicycle courses"; are a few of them.

But children do not think only about themselves. They also think about helping others.

They call for "more funds against Aids and cancer," "more donations for handicapped and poor children," or "more hospital beds."

Pressing problems are not forgotten. There have been demands for "fewer unemployed" or "more trees and forests."

There is little chance of meeting demands such as: "There should be no more alcohol." Does this mean that the girl's father goes to the pub in the evening instead of reading to her when she has to go to bed?

There is also a recognition that converting so many wishes into reality would be asking too much. At the end of one long letter, a girl asked that the commissioners themselves should pick out the most important items.

Many ideas are, of course, naive or idealistic.

In a three-page letter the Cologne centre for the protection of children requested DM875,000 for a "pilot project against sexual abuse in the family."

The letter suggested that the children's commissioners should support a motion on this from the Ministry for Youth, Family and Health Affairs. If it were only as simple as that...

The children's commissioners can act swiftly when it is a question of overcoming red tape in the Bonn government bureaucracy.

They were able to help the children's protection association in Bergisch-Gladbach within four weeks when the association asked for support in setting up a telephone hotline for troubled children.

A short letter to Minister of Posts Christian Schwarz-Schilling did the trick. The line was installed.

Johannes Puderbach

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 20 June 1988)

Legal challenge to tax bill

Continued from page [illegible]

fact that he will go down in history as the Finance Minister who levelled off the "middle-income paunch" of the tax-rate curve, the progressive increase in marginal tax rates for middle-income earners.

At one stage it had looked as if other politicians (Geissler, Blüm, Strauss and Späth) had become the key figures in discussion about the reform.

Often, detailed information about possible forms reform would take were revealed publicly by the "Gang of Four", the financial experts in the coalition (led in the Bundestag by the FDP's Hans Gattermann).

Stoltenberg, in contrast, seemed more interested in merely presenting calculations of the losses and gains in revenue each variation would bring. It is still not clear whether the bill will get through the Bundesrat (the upper house), since Lower Saxony Premier, Ernst Albrecht (CDU), has indirectly made his approval conditional on greater financial assistance for his *Land* by the Federal Government.

Some aspects of the tax reform, such as the abolition of the employee tax allowance and the tax-free Christmas allowance, will have to stand up to the scrutiny of the Federal Constitutional Court.

The German Trade Union Federation (DGB) has already announced that it intends taking legal action against parts of the tax reform.

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 24 June 1988)